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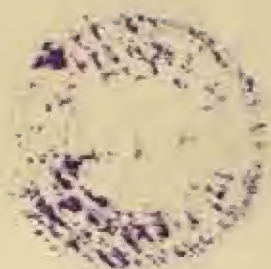








THE
SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS



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THE
SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS
IN LOWER DECCAN



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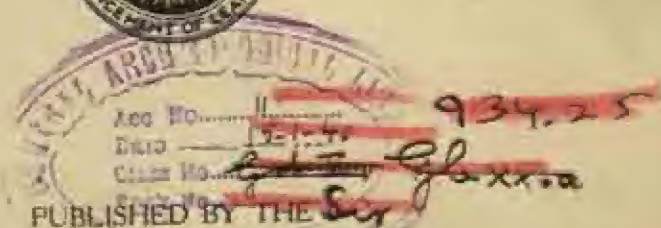
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ভাষ্যসংগ্রহ
দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড
প্রথম ভাগ
দ্বিতীয় ভাগ
তৃতীয় ভাগ

To
DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE
WITH THE AUTHOR'S GRATEFUL
REGARD AND ESTEEM

PREFACE

The early history of Peninsular India beyond the great barrier of mountain and forest that separates the vast Indo-Gangetic plain from the valleys of the Godavari, Krishna and the Kaveri has been dealt with by many scholars, notably Fleet, Rice, Bhandarkar and Debrenil. But the paucity of data stood in the way of an adequate treatment of the period that intervened between the disintegration of the Sātavāhana monarchy and the rise of the Imperial Calukyas. The three odd centuries that separated the last great Sātavāhana from the first Pulakeśin has been regarded by Smith as a "Blank in history." As early as 1895, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar observed that for some three centuries after the extinction of the Andhra (*i.e.* Sātavāhana) dynasty "we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country (*i.e.* the Deccan)." Smith observed in 1924, "It is still true to say that practically the political history of the Deccan begins in the middle of the sixth century with the rise of the Chalukya dynasty" (*E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 440). My aim has been to bridge the gulf between the Sātavāhana and the Calukya periods. The plan and purpose of the present volume have been explained in the *Introduction*, and little more need be said by way of a *Preface*. It will be seen that the author deals with the successors of the Sātavāhanas, who held sway in the vast region of the Deccan, mainly inhabited by the Telugu and Kanarese speaking peoples, before the foundation of the Calukya empire. It is contemplated to publish another volume which will be concerned with the dynasties that rose on the ruins of the Sātavāhana empire in the north.

In the present volume, I have tried to develop some of the views expressed in my monographs and papers previously published. Results of most recent investigations

have been incorporated in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*. My thanks are due to Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the illustrious Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University (1934-38), and to Dr. H. C. Raychandhuri, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. The encouragement of Dr. Mookerjee and the valuable suggestions of Prof. Raychaudhuri have been of great help to me in writing the following pages. My acknowledgments are also due to Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University, and to Mr. D. Ganguli, Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,
20th December, 1938.

D. C. SIRCAR

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ABBREVIATIONS

- An. Bhand. Or. Res. Ins.* = *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
- Anc. Geog. Ind.* = *Ancient Geography of India*, by Cunningham (ed. S. N. Majumdar), Calcutta, 1924.
- Anc. Hist. Dec.* = *Ancient History of the Deccan*, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil (English translation), Pondicherry, 1920.
- An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.* = *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras.
- Arch. Sur. $\frac{S.}{W.}$ Ind.* = *Archæological Survey of $\frac{Southern}{Western}$ India*.
- As. Res.* = *Asiatic Researches*.
- Bhandarkar's List* = *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX-XXIII.
- Bomb. Gaz.* = *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*.
- Br.* = *Brahmana*.
- Camb. Hist. Ind.* = *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ed. E. J. Rapson, 1923.
- Corp. Ins. Ind.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, ed. J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
- Dyn. Kan. Dist.* = *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, by J. F. Fleet in *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II.
- E. Hist. Dek.* = *Early History of the Dekkan*, by R. G. Bhandarkar in *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II.
- E. Hist. Ind.* = *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 4th ed., 1924.
- Ep. Carn.* = *Epigraphia Carnatica*.
- Ep. Ind.* = *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta.

- Geog.* = Geography.
Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Cult. = Indian Culture, Calcutta.
Ind. Hist. Quart. = Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
J. A. S. B., N. S. = Journal of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Calcutta.
J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Patna.
Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc. = Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
Journ. Dep. Let. = Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
Journ. Ind. Hist. = Journal of Indian History, Madras.
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
 Keilhorn's $\frac{N}{S}$ List = A List of the Inscriptions of Northern Southern India, by Keilhorn. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, V, VII.
 Lüders's List = A List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, by Lüders. Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, X.
Mahābh. = Mahābhārata.
Mys. Arch. Sur., A. R. = Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Survey.
Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind. = Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Rychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1927.
Pur. = Purāṇa.
Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc. = Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
Rām. = Rāmāyana.
Rapson's Catalogue = Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East.

- Sewell's List = *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*,
by R. Sewell, Madras University, 1932.
S. Ind. Ins. = *South Indian Inscriptions*.
Smith's Catalogue = *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian*
Museum, I. Calcutta, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
Sr. Sūt. = *Srauta-Sūtra*.
Z. D. M. G. = *Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*.



Ancient Names in Red

Modern Names in Black English Miles



Epigraphy is silent as regards the Andhra country for a long time after Kubîraka. Only about the second century of the Christian era we find the country occupied by kings belonging to the family known in epigraphy as the Sâtavâhana. A number of coins and inscriptions of the Later Sâtavâhanas has been discovered in the Andhra region. The most powerful among them were Vâsîsthîputra Pulumâvi and Gantamîputra Yajña Sâtakarṇi. The date of these kings is a disputed question ; but two points seem certain in this respect. (1) King Vâsîsthîputra Pulumâvi could not be far removed in time from (but was possibly for some time a contemporary of) the Śaka Satrap Rudradâman who is known to have ruled from c. 130 to c. 150 A.D. The mention of Baithana (Paithan in the Aurangabad district) as the capital of Sîriptolemaios (siri-Pulumâvi, contemporary of Tiastênes = Caștana who for some time ruled conjointly with his grandson Rudradâman) by Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) is also very important in ascertaining the date of Vâsîsthîputra Pulumâvi in about the middle of the second century A.D. (2) According to the evidence of palaeography, there could not have been a great interval between the reign of Pulumâvi and that of Yajña. The suggestion of Krishnasastri that the second year of Candra Śâti (a successor of Yajña) is equivalent to A.D. 210 is also important in this connection. It is therefore very probably certain that Yajña ended his rule not long after A. D. 200, and Yajña was the last great king of his dynasty (see *infra*, Sections I and III of the chapter on the Pallavas).

The local ruling families of South-Eastern Deccan either ruling as subordinate rulers or governors, such as the Śâlanîkâyanas, Brhatphalâyanas, Pallavas and the Ikșvâkus who remained loyal to the Sâtavâhanas at the time of Pulumâvi and Yajña Sâtakarṇi appear to have gradually raised their head and supplanted the weak successors of Yajña. From

palaeographic consideration it appears that the Ikṣvākus were the first to grow powerful in the Kistna-Guntur region and to throw off Śātavāhana suzerainty about the third decade of the third century. The performance of Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other Vedic sacrifices by the Ikṣvāku king Cāntamūla I clearly shows that the Ikṣvākus were no longer feudatory to the Śātavāhanas who were therefore ousted from the Kistna-Guntur area before the time of this king. The successors of the Ikṣvākus in the sovereignty of this area appear to have been the Br̥hatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. The Pallavas became very powerful about the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. The earliest Pallava epigraphs which appear to belong to the first half of the fourth century show that the Pallavas were at the time master of Andhrāpatha as well as the Bellary region. Pallava headquarters in the Andhra country at the time of Śivaskandavarman, a performer of Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, were at Dharmākada (Dhānyakaṭaka). Their supremacy in Andhradeśa appears to have broken down owing to the rise of the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgi (W. Godavari district) and the Ānandas of Kandarapura (Guntur district). Devavarman, the Śālaṅkāyana performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, possibly reigned not long after Pallava Śivaskandavarman. The evidence of the Kanteru plates proves that the Later Śālaṅkāyanas became master of much of the territories that were once under the Ikṣvākus, Br̥hatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. After the collapse of the Śālaṅkāyana power, the Viṣṇukundins gradually became master of the whole of Andhradeśa. When the Calukyas established themselves at Piṣṭapura in the beginning of the seventh century, the Viṣṇukundins appear to have struggled hard with them for existence. But gradually their power collapsed and the country passed to the possession of the Calukyas.

It must not however be thought that these dynasties appeared one after another on the political stage of the

Andhra country. The Śālaṅkāyanas, as we shall see, were most probably in possession of the district round Veṅgī even in the age of Ptolemy (c. 140), when the Śātavāhanas were apparently the suzerain of Andhradeśa. The Greek geographer possibly also refers to the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas in the present Masulipatam area. Excepting the Viṣṇukundins, all the earlier dynasties that reigned in South-Eastern Deccan after the Śātavāhanas seem to have ruled more or less contemporaneously.

In Part I of the present volume, I have given an account of the Ikṣvākus, Bṛhatphalāyanas, Ānandas, Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukundins. I have also dealt with the Pallavas who were for some time the supreme power in Andhradeśa.

In Part II of this volume, I have tried to give an account of the dynasties that succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the western part of Lower Deccan. From the breakdown of the Oṭṭu Śātakarṇi power up to the rise of the Calukyas, the principal ruling dynasty in South-Western Deccan was that of the Kadambas. I have not included in this account the history of the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas who ruled from places far to the south of the country ruled by the Śātavāhanas. I have included however the Kekayas who ruled in the northern part of Mysore, which most probably formed a part of the later Śātavāhana dominions. Since my account is limited in *circa* 200-650 A.D., I have not discussed a few minor feudatory families (e.g., the Sendrakas) whose early history is wrapped up in obscurity.

In placing this work before students of Indian history, I humbly request them to consider the new points I have been able to light upon in these pages. I have tried to establish a relation between the two known Ānanda kings on the basis of the passage *hiranyagarbh-odbhaṭ-odbhava* of the Mattepad plates. I have also tried to settle the genealogy and chronology of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukundins, in which, as

I have shown, mistakes have been made permanent by previous writers. The theory of the existence of a king called Sana in the Kistna district in the second or third century A.D. has been discussed and found to be untenable. The date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman has been fixed on the basis of the gradual development of inscriptional Prakrit in early South Indian inscriptions. In dealing with the [Early] Pallavas and the [Early] Kadambas, I have tried not to be led astray from the *terra firma* of solid facts by that eagerness for theorising which is so common among certain recent writers on the early history of those dynasties. The real significance of the passage *hiranyagarbh-odbhava* has been correctly pointed out. In interpreting terms like *āyukta*, *vallabha*, *hastikośa*, *vyāpṛta adhikāra-puruṣa* and others, I have spared no pains to utilise epigraphic as well as lexicographic and classical literature to the full. I have also made full use of the Epic, Purāṇic and Smṛti literature in explaining passages like *avāsita-vividha-dīvyā*, *hiranyagarbha* and others.

PART I
EASTERN DISTRICTS

CHAPTER I THE IKṢVĀKUS

I

THE SOUTHERN IKṢVĀKUS.

Some Prakrit ¹ inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus of Eastern Deccan have been discovered at Jaggayyapetta in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district (*Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 257 ff.), and at Nagarjunikonda in the Palnad taluka of the Guntur district (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 1 ff.) of the Madras Presidency. Formerly, Burgess expressed the opinion that these inscriptions belong to about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. "but are probably earlier." Bühler and, following him, Vogel who has recently edited the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions ascribe the Ikṣvāku records to the 3rd century of the Christian era. Like all early Prakrit inscriptions, the Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta records of the Ikṣvākus express compound consonants with single letters. This characteristic shows that these records are earlier than the Early Pallava grants which express double or conjunct consonants by more than one letter and appear to belong to about the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. (see my views in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 498 ff.; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 297 ff.; and *infra*). The Ikṣvāku inscriptions, therefore, almost certainly belong to about the middle and second half of the 3rd century A.D. (*vide infra*).

¹ Regarding the language of the Nagarjunikonda records, Stan Kenow observes (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 26), "We are faced with a normalized semiliterary Prakrit, used by people whose home-tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we should *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikṣvākus had come to the Kistna country from the West."

Ikṣvāku as the name of a king possibly occurs once in the *R̥gveda* (X. 60.4). The word there may, however, be also taken as an epithet of the name of another person, Asamāti, whom the *Jaiminīyabrahmana* (III. 167), *Bṛhaddevatā* (VII. 35 ff.), etc., take to be an Ikṣvāku prince. Ikṣvāku in the *Atharvaveda* (XIV. 39.9) seems to be regarded as an ancient hero. According to Macdonell and Keith (*Ved. Ind.*, s.v.) the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Puru family. Zimmer places them (*Alt. Leben*, pp. 104, 130) on the Upper Indus; the *Vedic Index*, however, thinks that the Ikṣvākus may well have been somewhat further east even in the Vedic period. Later Ikṣvākus are connected chiefly with Ayodhyā the capital of the Kośala *janapada*. We have long lists of Ikṣvāku kings in the Purāṇas and the epics. But we do not know of any relation between the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā and the Ikṣvākus of the Madras Presidency. Were the Southern Ikṣvākus a branch of the famous Ikṣvāku family of Northern India, which migrated and eventually carved out a principality in Eastern Deccan?

It is possible that the epithet *ikhāku-rāja-pravarā-risi-satāpabhava-tamśa-sambhava*, applied to Lord Buddha in an inscription of the Southern Ikṣvāku king Virapurisadata, refers to a claim of the king to belong to the same family as the Lord who, according to traditions, belonged to the famous Ikṣvāku family of Kośala (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, II. 124).¹ It is also interesting to note that the Southern Ikṣvākus were matrimonially related to the Southern Kekayas, as indeed, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā were to the Kekayas of Gīrivraja in the Punjab. But, in considering the question of the relation between the Northern and the Southern Ikṣvākus, we have also to remember the views of Caldwell regarding the nature of the Aryanisation

¹ Cf. also *Sāka-vr̥kṣa-pratīckhanṇaṃ vāruṇi gaurāde = ca cakrire, tamādā = āpāhā = amāpār = te dhruvī śāghā = iti smrtāḥ* (*Āśvaghoṣa, Saundaranandakāvya*, I. 24).

of South India. "The Aryan immigrants to the South," he says, "appear to have been Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers, and the kings of the Pāṇdyas, Cholas, Kalingas, and other Dravidians, appear to have been chiefly Dravidian chieftains whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors dignified with Aryan titles, and taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar and the Agnikula races of kings" (*Comp. Gramm.*, 2nd ed., Intro., p. 115). This view is certainly correct in some cases. As we know, the Hadis of Mymensingh (Bengal), a tribe closely allied to the Garos, have, only the other day, been allowed to wear *uparīṭa* and to bear the ancient and illustrious name of the Haihaya Kṣatriyas.¹ It is therefore not easy to determine whether the Southern Ikṣvākus were actually Aryan immigrants from the north (which is not impossible) or a Hinduised aboriginal family of rulers who appropriated the name of the most glorious royal family of ancient India.² The question is, moreover, a little further

¹ It is to be noticed that at present the population of Eastern and Southern India is generally divided not into four but only into two groups, viz., Brāhmana and Śūdra. In Eastern India has, however, now come on use when anybody likes to remain a Śūdra. For a list of aboriginal tribes claiming the status of Brāhmana, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, see *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V (Bengal and Sikkim), Pt. I, pp. 425-27. If, however, the Āgarias are Ugra-Kṣatriya, the Bāgdis are Vyāgras-Kṣatriya, the Namish-Bādis are Namo-Brāhmana and the Nāpats are Nai for Nāpāt-Brāhmana, as we have it there in the list, may not the Musalmans, Christians and the Japs (see for Japs) as well claim to be called Mugals-Kṣatriya, Kīlats (or Kīlāt)-Kṣatriya and Yavans-Brāhmana respectively?

² The extension of the name of "Kutala," where the Ikṣvākus ruled, over the modern Naipar-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region in the Dakṣiṇāpatha (cf. *Kautilaka-mahendra* mentioned as a *dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja* in the Allahabad pillar inscription) and the tradition recording the establishment of Kuśa, son of the Ikṣvāku hero Bāma, at Kuśavati to the south of the Vindhya and the Roṣā (*Bhāskaraṇḍa*, XVI, 31) probably go to prove a southerly course of Ikṣvāku expansion. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (10, 199), Kuśa ruled over Kutala with his capital at Kuśasthali or Kuśavati built upon the Vindhyan precipice. It may also be noticed that the southern kingdoms of Āśmaka and Malaka (on the Godavari) were traditionally known to have been founded by two Ikṣvāku princes named Āśmaka and Malaka (*Vāyu Pur.*, 88, 177-8). The history of the Ikṣvākus

complicated by the points brought to our notice by Przy-luski in an interesting paper in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1926, p. 83.¹

The Sanskrit word *ikṣvāku* means "gourd." It is interesting that some Austro-Asiatic peoples call themselves issue either of a gourd or a melon, of which every seed gave birth to a man (Bonifacy, *Cours d'ethnographie indo-chinoise*, p. 45 ; Cochbrane, *The Shans*, I, p. 120). This myth seems to have passed into Indian tradition, in which Sumati, queen of king Sagara of Ayodhyā (to whom 60,000 sons were promised), gave birth to a gourd, and from that gourd came out 60,000 children (*Rām.*, I, 38 ; *Mahabhā.*, III, 106 ; *Bhāg. Pur.*, IX, 88). The Austro-Asiatic myth of gourd-ancestor seems to have been transmitted in the legends of Sumati and Ikṣvāku who have been placed at Ayodhyā. But as is often the case in Indian literature, it appears that, in the second case, the authors have modified the myth for

Kekayas, Mālavas, Śibis, Guptas, Mauryas and the Atmakas and stories of the sons of Viśvāmitra, and of Hama, Vijaya, the sage Bāvari and others may all be very important in dealing with the organisation of Southern India. But while we have reliable evidence of the migration of the Mālavas (= Malas of the Greeks : on the lower valley of the Rās in Alexander's time) and the Sibis (= Sibi of the Greeks : in Alexander's time in the Sherkot region of the Jhang district, Panjah), and also of the Mauryas and the Guptas, from north to south—there is no satisfactory evidence as regards the migration of the other families or tribes. The mention of the Mālavas (= Mālavas) as living in the vicinity of Puskara (near Ajmere) in an inscription of Usvadāta (*Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 75), the find of coins with legend *Mālarāṇḍa jagah* in the southern part of the Jaipur State (Rajson, *Indian Coins*, § 51) and the name of the modern province of Mālwā, prove conclusively the southerly course of the Mālavas. As regards the Śibis, we may, however, challenge the authority of the tradition recorded in the *Dakṣamāra-sarita* (Madhya, Ch. VII) about their settlement on the Kāveri and their connection with the greater Cola as is claimed in the Udayendiram plates (*S. I. I.*, II, p. 392) ; but the discovery of their coins at Negari leaves no doubt that the Śibi tribe marched at least as far south as the Chitargadh district of Rajputāna. It can hardly be doubted that the Mauryas of Konkan and the Guptas (= Guptas) of Gujjala were branches respectively of the famous imperial dynasties of those names that ruled at Pāṭaliputra. The cases of the other tribes or families however, though not impossible, cannot be proved at the present state of our knowledge.

¹ An English translation of this paper is to be found in F. C. Bagchi's *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Calcutta University, 1929.

the sake of ennobling it. The epic poets could not be pleased with the idea that a gourd had given birth to a glorious dynasty. Ikṣvāku, which properly means a gourd in Sanskrit, appears, therefore, to have been personified as a hero, son of Vaivasvata Manu (*Rām.*, I, 70, vs. 20-21; *Mahābhā.*, I, 75, vs. 31-40) or of Sage Gautama (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 10-11). In a story of the *Dul-ca*, analysed by Rockhill, attempt has been made to explain the name Ikṣvāku by the fact that the children of the sage Gautama were found in a field of sugarcane (*ikṣu*).

If we think, now, that the Ikṣvākus were originally an Aryan tribe, this Austro-Asiatic influence possibly shows that they were closely connected with the aborigines of the country, wherein there was a strong Austro-Asiatic element, and consequently shared some of their beliefs and traditions. Relation, matrimonial and otherwise, of Aryan ruling families with the aborigines is frequently illustrated in the epic and the Purāṇic literature. That the Aryan families which migrated to South India had to accept some aboriginal customs is also clear from the fact that very early authorities on *smṛti* had to acknowledge and distinguish between the Aryan customs of Northern and those of Southern India. Bandhāyana, who lived long before Christ¹ and is a very great authority, speaks in his *Dharmasūtra* (I, ii, 1-4) of *mātulā-pitṛsvasṭ-dukṛt-gamana* (i.e., sexual relation with daughters of mother's brother and father's sister) as an established custom in the South. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Ikṣvāku king Virapurisadata had, among others, three queens who were the daughters of his father's sisters.²

¹ According to Bühler (*Ind. Stud.*, No. III, p. 15 ff.) the date of the *Sūtras* of Bandhāyana is the sixth century B.C. Keith however thinks that they are of a somewhat later date (*Comb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 140, note 3).

² Instances of marriage with the daughter of one's maternal uncle may be found in the history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Deccan. Kṛṣṇa II married Lakṣmī, daughter of his maternal uncle Rājavīraśa Śaṅkaragana; Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III also married Vijāmbā,

It has been suggested that the capital of the Southern Ikṣvākus was probably at Dhānyakaṭaka and that "the remains of Nagarjunikonda can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhāññakaṭaka which archæologists have sought both at Dharanīkoṭa near Amarāvati and at Bezvāḍa." But the remains seem to represent a city called Vijayapurī.

It must be noticed that the country, which according to the evidence of the Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta inscriptions appears to have belonged to the Ikṣvākus in about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., is known to have belonged to the Sātavāhanas in the 2nd century. After the decline of the Ikṣvākus, this region passed into the hands of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. The Mayidavolu (Guntur district) Prakrit grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 86) of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman, records an order of the Yuvamahārāja to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta*, i.e., governor) of Dhāññakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) to execute the grant of a village called Viripāra situated in the Andhāpatha (Andhrāpatha). Another Prakrit grant of the same age belonging to the reign of the Pallava king *vijaya*-Skandavarman was discovered in the Guntur district. According to Prof. Dubreuil, king *vijaya*-Skandavarman of this inscription is the same as the Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu grant. Whatever the identification be worth (*vide infra*), it is clear that the Ikṣvākus were ousted from the Kistna-Guntur region by the Pallavas of Kāñcī.

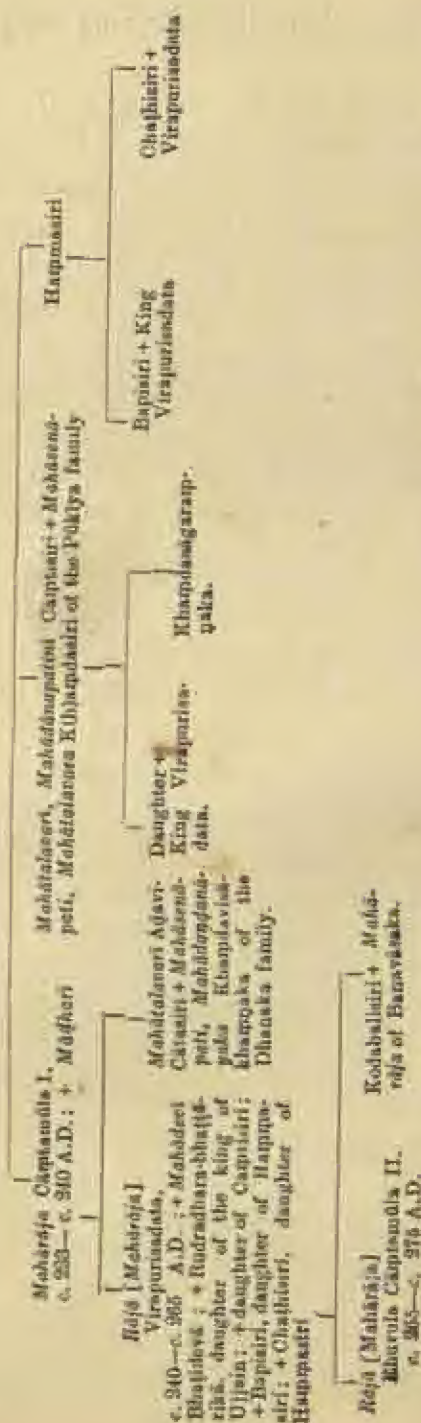
We cannot neglect to mention in this connection the rise of the Brhatphalāyanas in the district round Masulipatam. It is, however, certain that the weak successors of the great Cāptamūla and his son Virapurisadata were finally swept away by the Pallavas of Kāñcī at about the end of the 3rd century A.D. But it is quite possible that the rise of the

daughter of his wife Ammapadma (Annapadma) of the Kalacuri family (R. S. History of the Rashtrakutas, pp. 77-8). The custom is prevalent in the Deccan even at the present time.

Bṛhatphalāyanas had a large share in weakening the power of the Ikṣvākus.

An inscription of about the 5th century A.D. (*Ep. Carnat.*, XI, p. 142), discovered at Anaji in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug district (Mysore), speaks of a Kekaya prince, named Śivanandavarman who claims, for his family, matrimonial connection with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku line. Cf. *parama-māheśvaraḥ mātā-pitṛ-pādabhaktaḥ ātreya-gotraḥ soma-vaṃś-odbhavaḥ ikṣvā-kubhir=api rājaraṣibhiḥ kṛt-āvāha-vivāhānām kekayānām kule jātāḥ śivanandavarmā*. This fact possibly goes to show that the Ikṣvāku dynasty lingered long as a ruling power, though unimportant in comparison with the neighbouring royal families.

Genealogical Table of the Ikshvakus.



II

CĀMTAMŪLA I.¹

Only three kings of the Ikṣvāku family of Eastern Deccan are so far known. The first of them is Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāmtamūla. We have not yet any inscription of the time of this king. But from the epithets applied to his name in the inscriptions of his son and grandson, he appears to have been a very great and powerful monarch.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ikṣvāku Cāmtamūla is credited with the performance of the *agnīhotra*, *agnīṣṭoma*, *vājaapeya* and *aśva-medha* sacrifices. It must be noted that the Vājaapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices could be performed only by very powerful kings. According to the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (V. 1, 1, 13)² the performance of the former bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmraḍya*, while

¹ Possibly Sanskrit *Sāntamūla*. In this connection may be noticed the change of *r* into *c* in the name of two kings of the Kadamba family of Goa. The name Śeṣṭha or Śeṣṭhadeva has in these cases the Prakrit forms Caṭṭa, Caṭṭala, Caṭṭara and Caṭṭayya (Bomb. Gaz., I, Pt. II, p. 567). Steen Konow for this reason is inclined to take Cāmtamūla as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit Kṣāntamūla (Ep. Ind., XX, p. 26). It must also be remembered that Tamil, a typical Dravidian language, has no letter in its alphabet corresponding to the *ś* of Sanskrit and that Sanskrit *ś* is generally represented in Tamil by *c*; e.g., Sanskrit *paśu* = Tamil *peṇ*; *ś*, *satru* = T. *caṭṭara*; *ś*, *śatraka* = T. *caṭṭakam*; etc. This is due possibly to the fact that Sanskrit *ś* is represented in Prakrit by *c* which again is almost identical in sound with Dravidian *c*. Cf. Kuladarmen for Kuladarmen in the Udayendiram grant of Nandivarman Pallava (Ep. Ind., III, p. 112). Sometimes *ś* is represented by *ch* in Prakrit, e.g., *ś*, *Sara* = Pali *chara*. The word *Saka* has sometimes been mentioned in Indian literature, e.g., in the *Cāṇḍakūṭa*, as *Caka* (J.B.O.R.S. XIV, p. 478). Dr. Harnett however suggests to me that the name Cāmtamūla is derived from some unknown Dravidian word and has no connection with Sanskrit.

² Cf. *rājā vai vājāṣṭhya-ṣṣṭāḥ bhavati, samrāḍ- vājāpeya-āśvamedha hi vājāyam param sāmraḍyam, kāmāpeta vai rājā samrāḍ bhavitum* (Sat. Br., V. 1, 1, 13); see also Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 102, and Appendix below.

the Rājastūya conferred merely the ordinary royal dignity called *rājya*. According to the *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra* (XX, i, 1), only the *sārvabhauma* kings (*rājā*) could perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice.¹ King Cāṃtamūla, therefore, could not have been a weak ruler, subordinate to some Śātavāhana emperor. The celebration of Aśvamedha by the Ikṣvāku king possibly shows his success against a Śātavāhana overlord. Cāṃtamūla I is also said to have been a giver of crores of gold, thousands of cows (or bullocks) and thousands of ploughs.² The king was evidently a Brahmanical Hindu. The deity he was devoted to is mentioned as *virūpākṣapati-mahāsena*. It may be noted that the Kadambas and the Calukyas also referred to their families, in their inscriptions, as *mahāsena-parigrhita*. Mahāsena (Skanda), in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, has been called *virūpākṣa-pati*, "lord of the Virūpākṣas." Vogel takes the term *virūpākṣa* in the sense of the hosts of which Skanda is the lord or leader. The word indicates a class of snakes in a snake-charm in the *Vinayapiṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg, II, p. 110). Virūpākṣa is an ordinary epithet applied to Rākṣasas and other spirits in *Mahābhā.* and *Rām.* (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 39.)

King Cāṃtamūla had at least two sisters. One of them named Cāntasiri (or Cāṃtisiri = Śāntaśrī or Śāntīśrī ?) was given in marriage to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Kṣaṇḍasiri or Kṣaṇḍa³ (Skandaśrī) of the Pūkiya family.⁴ Kṣaṇḍasiri has been called

¹ See my note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 311 ff., and *Appendix* below; also Barchinādhari, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16 and 100-101.

² It is possible that his epithet *aneka-hiranyā-śeṭi-go-vataśchata-hala-vataśchata-pada* refers to the fact that the king performed many times several of the sixteen mahādānas, such as Hiranyagarbha, Hiranyakūśa-bhaga, Hiranyākṣa, Hiranyākṣa-ratha, Gopādhara and Paśchalāśvata, enumerated in the Purāṇas.

³ An inscription discovered at Ramireddipalle in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district mentions the Mahātālavatas of the Mōḍiyas. It has been suggested (*An. Rep. S. Ind. M.*, 1930-37, p. 74) that the Mōḍiyas may be identical with the Pūkiyas.

Mahāsenāpati and *Mahātalavara*, and his wife, the Ikṣvāku princess Cāmtasirī, *Mahātalavarī* and *Maṇādāna-patini*. The term *mahāsenāpati* ("great chief of the army," i.e., general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of the *rāṣṭras* (districts) at the time of the Śātavāhanas¹; the same meaning seems to be applicable in the present case also. Vogel is, therefore, inclined to render the term by "duke." *Mahātalavaras* are mentioned in early Jain works along with the eighteen *gana-rājas*. So, this word must also be taken as a title of nobility (cf. *Kalpasūtra*, ed. Jacobi, 61, ll. 21-25). A Sanskrit commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, called *Subodhikā*, by Vinayavijaya (Nirnaysagar Press ed., leaf 60, lines 6-7) explains the term *talavara* as *tuṣṭa-bhūpala-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthānīya*. In the Punjab there is a subdivision of the Khetris (Kṣatriyas) called the Tālwar (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 7, n. 1). Vogel suggests a connection of the word *talavara* with Tamil *talavāy* (general), *talaiyāri* (village-watchman) or Kanarese *talavara*, *talavāra* (watchman, beadle). It seems from the *Subodhikā* and these inscriptions that the *Mahātalavaras* were provincial governors or subordinate rulers. I, therefore, think that the word is connected with Tamil *talaiṇar*, which means a king, ruler or governor (*Tamil Lexicon*, pub. Madras University, s.v.). The word, which is originally Dravidian, evidently penetrated into North India also. In addition to the instance of the Tālwar of the Punjab, it may be said that it is obviously identical with the mysterious word *taravara*, which along with the word *mahāpratihāra* (great chamberlain) is found on a clay sealing excavated by Bloch at Basarh (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1903-04, p. 108, Pl. XL. 6). *Talāra*, evidently the same as *talavara*, is mentioned in the Chirwa

¹ Sometimes the *Mahāsenāpatīs* were also called *Mahārājas*; cf. *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati*. Puerperal of the Wāla clay seal (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1862) which belongs to the first half of the sixth century A.D. See also the Bijaygarh inscription (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 399) which mentions a Yaudhaya *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati*.

inscription (A.D. 1273) of Guhila Samarasimha of Mewar. According to this epigraph, one Kṣema was made *tālāra* of Citrakūṭa by Jaitrasimha, and after him one Madana was made *tālāra* of the same place by the *Pradhāna* Rājasiṃha (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 579).

At least two children—a son and a daughter—were born to Cāṃtisiri. The name of her son was Khamḍasāgarapṇaka¹ (Skanda-sāgara ?). We do not know her daughter's name; but she is known to have been married to her cousin, king Virapurisadata. In an inscription of Nagarjunikonda, Virapurisadata has been called Cāṃtisiri's *apana jāmātuka*, i.e., own son-in-law.

Another uterine sister of king Cāṃtamūla was Harṇma-siri (Harṇyaśrī ?) who had two daughters, Bapisirinikā (Vāpiśrī ?) and Chaṭhisiri (Śaṣṭhīśrī ?). Both Bapisiri and Chaṭhisiri were given in marriage to their cousin, Virapurisadata, son and successor of king Cāṃtamūla I.

Two children of king Cāṃtamūla are known from inscriptions. One of them is his son from Mādharī (Māṭharī), named Virapurisadata, who succeeded him on the throne. The other is his daughter, Mahātālavarī Aḍavi-Cātasiri.² The princess was given in marriage to the Mahāsenāpati, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khamḍavisākhamṇaka (Skandaviśākha ?) who belonged to the family of the Dhanakas. Both the sister and the brother appear to have been staunch Buddhists,

¹ Sten Konow says (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 25), "...the suffix *apaka* in *Vās-khamṇaka*, *Sāgarapṇaka* formed from *Viśākha*, *Sāgara*, respectively. This same suffix is frequent in names from the Bombay Presidency; cf. Lüders, Nos. 983, 993, 1000, 1018, 1029, 1033 (Kanberī), 1063, 1064, 1065 (Kojā), 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kīrlā), 1100, 1111 (Bodā), 1141 (Nāikī), 1171 (Junnar). It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, perhaps Kanarese, substratum. The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese. Moreover, some of the names seem to find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus *landa* means 'child' in Kanarese, and *choḥi* 'cold.' *Chaḥikereṇṇapṇaka* probably is *Chaḥikereṇṇa* = 'Moon'." But the last name, excluding the suffix, is *Chaḥikereṇṇa*.

² The word *aḍavi*, the meaning of which is not known, was prefixed to the name of this princess evidently in order to distinguish her from her namesakes.

whereas their father was a performer of Vedic sacrifices like *agnihotra*, *agniṣṭoma*, *vājapeya* and *āśvamedha*.

In one of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions dated in the 6th regnal year of Virapurisadata, we have a record of the benefactions of one Mahāsenāpatinī Cula(kṣudra)-Cāmtisirinikā (i.e., Cāmtisiri the younger) who was married to the Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khamdacalikireṃmaṇṇaka of the Hiranyaka family. The name of the Mahāsenāpatinī seems to indicate that she was an Ikṣvāku princess ; but she is explicitly called *kulahakāṇaṃ bālīkā*, i.e., a girl born in the family of the Kulabakas. She therefore appears to me to have been the daughter of an Ikṣvāku princess married to a Kulabaka chief.

III

VIRAPURISADATA (VIRAPURUSADATTA).¹

King Cāptamūla I, as we have already said, was succeeded on the Ikṣvāku throne by his son Virapurisadata. We have a number of inscriptions dated in the regnal years of this king. His inscriptions have been found at the Buddhist sites of Nāgarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta. The records begin with an adoration to Bhagavān Samyakṣambuddha, i.e., Lord Buddha.

Inscriptions appear to tell us of five queens of king Virapurisadata. Two of them were Bapisiri and Chāthisiri, daughters of the king's aunt (father's sister) Hāmmasiri. We have already seen that Baudhāyana sanctions marriage with daughters of maternal uncles and paternal aunts for the inhabitants of the South. A daughter of his other aunt Cāptisiri was also a queen of the king. Another queen appears to have been the Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, who has been described in the inscriptions as *Ujanikāmahārābālikā*. Vogel is inclined to correct the passage as *Ujanikā-mahārāja-bālikā*. This may not be impossible, as in the Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions there are signs of careless engraving. Vogel then identifies Ujanikā with the famous city of Ujjayinī (Prakrit *Ujeni*), mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (*Geography*, VII, i, §63) as *Ozēnē* and as the capital of *Tiasṭēnes* (Caṣṭana). The name of queen Rudradharā and those of the kings of Caṣṭana's line, such as

¹ Bahler took Purisadata as name of the king and *siri-sira* (*siri-sira*) as an adjective (*Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 257) on the ground that there is no duty named Virapuroga and that therefore, as a name, Virapurusadatta makes no sense. Sometimes, however, such adjectives are known to form an integral part of the proper names. Note, for instance, the name of Vīravāṇendra, the Cola king, who ruled from A.D. 1068 to 1076 (*Bewell, List*, pp. 51 and 449-50).

Rudradāman (I and II), Rudrasena (I, II and III) and Rudrasimha (I, II, III and IV) may also indicate the possibility of Vogel's theory. Though there is no name like Rudradhara (of whom the queen might have been supposed to have been a sister or a daughter) in the genealogy of the Śakas of Ujjain, two kings having names beginning with Rudra reigned in the third century A.D.

1. Rudrasena I, *circa* Śaka 122-135 (A.D. 200-213).
2. Rudrasena II, *circa* Śaka 176-196 (A.D. 254-274).

It is not altogether impossible that the Ikṣvāku queen was related to one of these kings. It may be noted in this connection that a Nagarjunikonda inscription records the pious gift of a Śaka girl, which fact possibly shows that the Ikṣvākus were friendly towards the Śakas. The currency of *dināri-māṣakas* in their kingdom seems also to indicate their relation with the north. The *dināra*, according to numismatists, was a gold coin weighing about 124 grains, first struck by the Kuṣāṇa kings (of whom Caṣṭana is generally supposed to have been a feudatory) in the first century A.D. in imitation of the Roman gold denarius (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 181).

In an inscription of Ehuṇvula Cāṃtamūla II, son and successor of Virapurisadata, the name of the reigning king's mother is mentioned as Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā. She appears, therefore, to have been another queen of Virapurisadata.

Besides the son Ehuṇvula Cāṃtamūla, king Virapurisadata is known to have had a daughter named Kodabaliśiri who is said to have been the Mahādevī (queen) of the *Vanavāsaka-mahārāja*. Vanavāsaka-mahārāja appears to mean the king of Banavāsi, now in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. Banavāsi is known to have been the

capital of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis and afterwards of the Kadambas. Scholars think that the Kadambas began to rule at Banavāsī about the middle of the fourth century A.D. (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 95; *Kadambakula*, p. 18; also *infra.*). We should also note in this connection that the Chandra-valli Prakrit record of the earliest Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, AR, 1929, p. 50) which expresses compound consonants by more than one letter is obviously later than the time of the issuers of the Nagarjunikonda and Jaggayyapetta records. It is therefore not impossible that a Cuṭu-Śātakarṇi king of Banavāsī was the husband of the Ikṣvāku princess Kodabalisiri, daughter of Virapurisadata whose inscriptions have been ascribed to the third century A.D. Matrimonial alliance with the powerful houses of Ujjain and Banavāsī certainly strengthened the Ikṣvākus at the time of this monarch.

King Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata ruled at least for more than nineteen years. We have inscriptions dated in the 6th, 14th, 15th, 18th and the 20th year of his reign. The following are some important inscriptions discovered at Nagarjunikonda and dated in his sixth regnal year :—

I. Record of the erection of a pillar at the Mahācetiya of Lord Buddha by Cāptasiri who was the uterine sister of king Vāsisthīputra Cāptamūla I, aunt (*pituchā*, i.e., father's sister) of king Māṭharīputra Virapurisadata, wife of the Pūkiya chief Vāsisthīputra Khamdasiri and mother of Khamdasāgarāṃnaka. The act is said to have been done "for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world."

II. Record of the erection of a stone-pillar by Bapsirinikā, daughter of Hammasiri (sister of king Cāptamūla I), and wife of king Virapurisadata. The pillar was erected with regard to the queen's mother Hammasiri, and for the sake of attaining the bliss of *nirvāṇa* for herself; it also

records the completion of extensions of the Mahācetiya,¹ for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect, by Reverend Ānanda who knew the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* by heart and was a disciple of the Masters of the *Ārya-saṅgha* (*ārya-saṅgha*). The Masters of the *ārya-saṅgha* are said to have been resident at Pampagāma and to have been preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, *Majjhima-nikāya* and the five *Mātukas*.

The *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya* are celebrated Pāli Buddhist works. The way, however, in which the Masters of these Nikāyas are mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions is different from that in which they are generally referred to in the Buddhist literature. It has, therefore, been conjectured by Dr. N. Dutt (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 642) that possibly the inscriptions were concerned with a Buddhist sect that was not exactly the Theravāda (the Pāli) School, but had a literature and tradition very similar to that School. Dr. Dutt further suggests that the word *mātuka* (Pāli *mātikā*, Sanskrit *mātrkā*) may be taken to be both the Vinaya and Abhidharma Piṭakas; but that the specification of the number in *pañca-mātuka* indicates that here the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is meant. It must be noted that five of the principal Buddhist Schools, *viz.*, Theravāda, Mahāśāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṃghika had their Vinaya Piṭaka in five divisions (Przyłuski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 353 ff.).

The Aparamahāvinaseliyas (Aparamahāvanaśailiyyas)² have been taken to be the same as the Aparasāiliyyas whose

¹ Dr. N. Dutt says that the "period mentioned here (*i.e.*, the time of the Kevāku Inscriptions, the 3rd or 4th century) relates to the subsidiary structures of the main stūpa. The stūpa itself—the Mahācetiya.....must be assigned to an earlier period....." (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 634). Vogel, however, translates *nīhapitapam narakamaṃ* (lit. repaiza) *mahācetiyaṃ śhaṃbha ca* (*kapila ti*, as "this pious work (*i.e.*, *narakama*), the Mahācetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 17). Vogel has recently edited some additional Kevāku inscriptions discovered at Nagarjunikonda in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 61 ff.

² An Amaravati Buddhist pillar inscription (Elders, *List*, No. 1289) mentions one Ācariya Śāriputa, inhabitant of Mahāvanaśa (*sic*, *sail).

place has been referred to by Yuan Chwang as A-fa-lo-s. (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, p. 214). Dr. De suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 648-49) that the Masters of the *Ayira-haṅgha* are to be identified with the Mahāsamghikas and that "the whole Buddhist establishment at Nagarjunikonda belonged to the Mahāsamghikas." It is, however, difficult to accept the latter suggestion in view of the fact—that an inscription of the site dated in the 11th year of king Eḥavula Cāṃtamūla II records the dedication of a *vihāra* to the Masters of the Mahiśāsaka sect (*Ep Ind.*, XX, p. 24 : *imaṃ khaṇiyaṃ vihāro ca acariyānaṃ mahiśāsakānaṃ supariḡahe cātudisaṃ saṃghaṃ udisāya sava-satānaṃ hita-sukhāthaṃ śhapitaṃ*).

III. Record of the erection of a pillar in the Mahācetiya by Mahātālavarī Aḍavi-Cāṃtisiri who was the daughter of king Cāṃtamūla I, sister of king Virapurisa-data and wife of the Dhanaka chief Khampdavisākhaṃṇaka. The act is said to have been done with regard for both the houses to which she belonged and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by herself in both the worlds.

IV. Record of the erection of a stone pillar in the Mahācetiya by Mahāsenāpatinī Cula-Cāṃtisirinikā (Kṣudra-Sāntiārī), daughter of the Kulahakas and wife of the Hiraṃṇaka (Hiraṇyaka) chief, Khampdacalikireṃṃṇaka.

V. Record of the erection of a *śāla-stambha* by Mahādevī Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārīkā who was the daughter of the king of Ujjain and evidently the queen of Virapurisa-data, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and the wealth of Nirvāṇa,—and also of the construction of a shrine and receipt of the gift of 170 *dīnāri-māṣakas* by Mahātālavarī Cāṃtisiri (sister of king Cāṃtamūla I) who belonged, by marriage, to the family of the Pūkiyas. The mention of the *dīnāri-māṣakas* (= $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *dīnāra* in weight

or value ? *cf. fanam*);¹ in an inscription found at Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, is very interesting. As already stated, it is generally held that *dināra* is the Indian designation of some Kuṣāna coins which were imitated from the Roman *denarius*. Again, the early Western Śaka Satraps, according to many scholars, were subordinate to the great Kuṣāna kings. As, then, the Ikṣvākus appear to have been matrimonially connected with the kings of Ujjain, it is not impossible that the Kuṣāna coin-designation passed into the Ikṣvāku kingdom through the country of the Śakas.

VI. Record of the erection of a pillar by the Mahādevī Chaṭhisirī, daughter of king Cāntamūla's sister Haṃmasirinikā and wife of king Virapurisadata, for the purpose of attaining Nirvāṇa.

VII. Record of the erection of a stone-pillar by a Mahātalavarī, whose name is not mentioned, but who is said to have been the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Kaṃdasirī (Mahā-Skandaśrī) of the Pūkiya family and the mother of the Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Venḥusirī (Viṣṇuśrī). Vogel thinks it possible that the Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Kaṃdasirī is identical with the Pūkiya chief K[h]aṃdasirī, who is mentioned in some inscriptions as the husband of king Cāntamūla's sister Cāntisirī, mother of Khaṃda-sāgarapṇaka. This identification makes Cāntisirī, mother of Khaṃdasāgarapṇaka, a co-wife of the unknown Mahātalavarī who was the mother of Venḥusirī. It however seems to me that Mahā-Kaṃdasirī was a uterine elder brother of K[h]aṃdasirī. (*Cf.* the names Mahā-Caṃdamukha and Cula (*kṣudra*)-Caṃdamukha and of Mahā-Mūla and Cula-Mūla in inscription F of Nagarjunikonda).

¹ *Māyaka* was the $\frac{1}{16}$ part of the standard *Varaha*. May *dināra-māyaka* be $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *dināra* (about 12½ gr.) in weight (or value) ? It is interesting to note that some gold *fanams* are found to be 7.7 gr. in weight (see Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 315, Pl. XXX. 7).

The Nagarjunikonda inscription dated in the 14th year of king Virapurisadata is very important. It records the building of a *cetiya-ghara* (*cetiya-grha*), "with a flooring of slabs, with a *cetiya* and provided with all the necessities" in the Cula-dhammagiri-vihāra on the Śrīparvata, to the east of Vijayapurī, by a lay-member Bodhisiri (Bodhisiri), wife of Budhinnaka and daughter of Revata of Govagāma, for the acceptance (*suparigahe*) of the Therīs specially of Tambapanna (Sanskrit: Tāmraparṇī or ṇa; Greek: Taprobane, i.e., Ceylon) and other Therīs who are said to have "caused serenity and happiness" (*pasādana*) to the people of, that is, who belonged to, Kasmira, Gaṇḍhāra, Cīna, Cīlāta, Tosali, Avaramba, Vamga, Vanavāsī, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and Tambapanni-dīpa. It appears that these Therīs (female ascetics) of Ceylon and other countries used to visit this region for purposes of pilgrimage.¹ Many of the countries mentioned in this connection can be easily identified.²

(i) Kāśmīra is the famous country of North-western India still known under its ancient name. The boundary of the country, however, was not the same in all ages.

(ii) The kingdom of Gaṇḍhāra, according to the Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 113.11; 114.11), lay *sindhora ubhaya-taḥ pārśve* (on both sides of the Indus). We know from the Epics and the Purāṇas that the great cities of Takṣaśilā

¹ Dr. N. Dutt in a learned paper in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* (VII, p. 693 ff.) has objected to Dr. Vogel's translation of the term *pasādana* as "one who converts." According to him the word refers to the pious lives of the nuns that bring joy and peace to the people of their countries. Mr. D. L. Berns (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 110) takes the word *theripunnā* as an adjunct to *āvarigāna* and interprets as "to the teachers represented by the Theras, exponents of Theravāda."

² It is interesting to note that according to some *gāthās* of the *Mahāvastu*, XXIX, verse 30 ff., the leading Theras were representatives of towns and countries like Rājagṛha, Jāṇḍi, Jāṇḍi, Vesālī, Kosambī, Ujetī, Pūpphāpura, Kāśmīra, Pallavabhogga (= Kāśmīr?), Yonmagara-Alasanda, Bhodhimaggā, Vanavāsī and Kellāsa. We see that the *Mahāvastu* list mentions Kāśmīra, Vanavāsī and the Yona or Yavana country which are also included in the Nagarjunikonda list (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 111).

and Puṣkalāvati belonged to the Gaṃpabhāra kingdom. The ruins of the ancient city of Takṣaśilā are situated immediately to the east of Saraikala, a railway junction twenty miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Puṣkalāvati (Prakrit : Pukkalaoti ; Greek : Peukelaotis) has now been correctly identified with modern Prang and Charsadda on the Swat river, seventeen miles to the north-west of Peshawar (Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 183-84). The *janapada* of Gaṃpabhāra appears to have included the Rawalpindi district of the Punjab and the Peshawar district of the North-West Frontier Province.

(iii) and (iv) Cina and Cilāta (Kirāta) were names of the countries inhabited by Mongoloid peoples and situated to the east and north-east of India (as regards the latter, cf. the Purāṇic statement, e.g., in *Vāyu*, 45, 82, *purne kirdā yasy=ānte paścime yatanās=iathā*). According to the *Mahābhārata* (V. 19.15), Bhagadatta, king of Prāgyjyotiṣa or Assam, marshalled the Cīnās and Kirātas in the great battle of Kurukṣetra. The name Cina is famous in Sanskrit literature. It originated most probably from the name of the Tsin dynasty which ruled in China from B.C. 255 to 202.¹ Cilāta is the same as Sanskrit Kirāta and Greek Kirradai (*Periplus*, § 62, Ptolemy, VII, 2.2), Kirradia (Ptolemy, VII, 2.16) or Tiladai (*ib.*, VII, 2. 15). In the *Milindapañho* there are two passages which mention a number of places that were used to be visited by merchants for purposes of trade. In both these lists we have the mention of Cina-Cilāta. The printed text of the *Milindapañho*, however, reads Cina-vilāta ; but Sylvain Lèvi (*Études Asiatique*, II, p. 24) has rightly contended that Vilāta is an error for Cilāta. The peoples of these countries are described by the *Periplus* as a " race of

¹ Considering the early use of the word in Sanskrit it seems impossible that the name was derived from that of the Later Tains who ruled in A.D. 265-420 and 686-943 (D.C. Boulger, *Short History of China*, p. 377 ff.).

men with flattened nose, very savage," and by Ptolemy as dwarfs with flat face and white skin.

(v) The city of Tosala or Tosali is to be identified with modern Dhauli (Puri district, Orissa), where a set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka has been found. The name Dhauli appears to have sprung from Tosali through the intermediate forms Tohali and Dhoali. In literature, the country of Tosala is always associated with (South) Kosala (modern Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts). Some mediaeval inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 286; XV, p. 2) mention Uttara-Tosala and Dakṣiṇa-Tosala. The country is to be identified with the Puri district, and parts of the adjoining districts, of Orissa.

The city is generally taken to be the same as the Tosalei metropolis which was, according to the *Geography* of Ptolemy, situated in trans-Gangetic India. Vogel may be right in identifying it with Dosara of Ptolemy and Dosarene of the *Periplus*.

(vi) Avarāṃṭa (Aparānta) is now generally identified with Northern Konkan. It had its capital at Śūrpāraka, modern Sopārā in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency.

(vii) Vogel appears to be wrong when he says that "Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal." It seems to me impossible that the whole of the modern Presidency of Bengal was meant by the term Vamga in the third century A.D. The country of Vamga may be identified with Central and Eastern Bengal, along with a part of Southern Bengal (Ray Chaudhuri, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 184 ff.).

(viii) The country of Vanavāsī (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 278, n. 2) appears to be the same as modern (North) Kanara. The capital is to be identified with the modern town of Banavāsī in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. Vogel seems to be wrong in identifying it with "Banavāsī, a village or small town in the Shimoga district of the Mysore state" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 8).

(ix) The exact situation of the Yavana country (that is, the country inhabited by the Yavanas or Yaunas, the Greeks) is not yet known. It is not certain whether Yavana means here the ancient dominions of the Greek emperors of Syria, or the land of the Yonas referred to in the third Rock Edict of Aśoka, or the Far Eastern Yavana country (Northern Annam), or any settlement of the Græco-Romans somewhere in South India.¹ According to the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 207. 43), we know, the country of the Yaunas lay in the Uttarāpatha. The city of Alasanda, mentioned in the *Mahāvamśa*, has been identified by Geiger with Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul (Geiger, *Mahāvamśa*, p. 194). According to the *Milindapañho*, the Indo-Greek king Menander (*Milinda*) was born at Kalasigāma in the *dīpa* of Alasanda or Alexandria (Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, pp. 82-83). The capital where Menander ruled was at Sākala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab. The Indian Yavana country may possibly be the same as Alasanda of the Indian literature, which appears to have been somewhere about modern N.W.F.P. and Afghanistan.

(x) and (xi) The reading of the names Damila and Palura is not quite certain. Damila, however, can be no other than the country of the Tamil people. Palura, if the reading be accepted, may be identified with Ptolemy's Paloura (*Geography*, VII. i, § 16), which has been taken to be the Dravidian form of the name of the famous city, Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga. Cf. Pal (tooth) + ūr (city) = Danta (tooth) + pura (city). But we cannot be definite on this point. First because the reading is doubtful; secondly, the connection of the name with Dantapura is

¹ In connection with Sāhadeva's *digvijaya* in the south, the *Mahābhārata* (II. 31. 11-13) mentions a "city of the Yavanas" together with the countries of the Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Kāliṅga and others. The *Milindapañho* (1st) mentions Yona, Purama-yona and Alasanda; one of the two Yonas may be identical with Yavana (Northern Annam) mentioned in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* along with Campā (Southern Annam) and Kamboja (Cambodia). See B. C. Majumdar, *Saurāṣṭra*, pp. 55, 106.

conjectural; and thirdly, Dantapura is known to have been a city, while all the names in our list appear to designate countries or provinces. The site of Dantapura has not been definitely identified. We have reference to the Dantapuravāsaka in the Purle plates of the Gaṇḍa king Indravarman (6th century A.D.), edited in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 361, where it has been suggested that the name survives in that of the fort of Dantavakra near Chiacole in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The Jirjingi copper-plate grant of Indravarman was also issued from Dantapura. Oldham identifies Paloura with a village called Pālūra about six miles north-east of Ganjam (*J. B. O. R. S.*, XXII, p. 1 ff.).

Śrīparvata (= Nagarjunikonda, according to many), where the Cula-dharmagiri-vihāra was built, does not appear to be the same as the Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. Vijayapuri (the Ikṣvāku capital, according to some) which was situated to the west of Śrīparvata was possibly the city "once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikonda."

The same *upāsikā* Bodhisiri here claims also the construction of a chaitya-shrine at the Kulaha-vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhala-vihāra, one cell at the Great Dharmagiri, a *maṇḍapa*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practices at Devagiri, a tank, a veranda and a *maṇḍapa* at Puvasela, a stone-*maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the great Caitya at Kaṇṭakasola or °sela, three cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven cells at Papilā, and a stone-*maṇḍapa* at Puphagiri.

The localities mentioned in this connection cannot all be satisfactorily identified. The name of the Kulaha-vihāra reminds us of the Kulahaka family which, as we have suggested above, was probably matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus. The Sīhala (Sinhala, *i.e.*, Ceylon)-vihāra appears to have been a convent "founded either by a Sin-

¹ An Amaravati inscription (Lilālers, No. 1255) mentions Vijayapura.

halese, or more probably, for the accommodation of Sinhalese monks." This Sihala-vihāra contained a shrine for the Bodhi-tree (*Bodhiṣṭka-prāsāda*). It is interesting to note that the Bodhi-tree is a necessary adjunct of the Ceylonese vihāras even at the present time. Puvaseḷa (*Pūrvaśaila*) is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as Fu-p'o-shi-lo, where resided a Buddhist sect known as the *Pūrvaśailiyyas*. The *Pūrvaśailiyya ācāryas* have been referred to in a fragmentary pillar inscription discovered at Alluru in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district. Kanṭakasela has been rightly taken to be the same as the emporium Kanṭakassula mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography*, VII, i, 15) immediately after the river Maisōlos (the Krishna) in the land called Maisōlia (Masulipatam). Kanṭakassula has been identified with the town of Ghanṭaśālā which lies between the village of Guduru and the mouth of the Krishna (*cf.* Ptolemy's location : Mouth of the river Maisōlos.....
.....Kanṭakassula, a mart.....Koddoura (*loc. cit.*).¹ Mr. Rea discovered (*South Indian Antiquities*, p. 132) at this place the remains of a *stūpa* which, he thought, date from the beginning of the Christian era. The remains almost certainly belong to the Great Caitya mentioned in these inscriptions. Pūphagiri is probably the same as Puṣpagiri in the Cuddapah district (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 73).

The Nagarjunikonda inscription, dated in the 18th year of king Virapurisadata, records the building of "a stone-hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with every necessary at the foot of the Mahācetiya" for the acceptance of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, by the Mahātalavarī Cāptisiri, sister of king Cāptamula I, wife of the Pākīya chief Vāsiṣṭhīputra Khamdasiri and mother of Khamdasāgarāṇṇaka, desiring the longevity, strength and victory of her

¹ An Amaravati inscription (Elders, No. 1000) mentions Kanṭakasela, evidently the same as Kanṭakassula.

own son-in-law (*apuno jāmātuka*), king Maṭharīputra Virapurisadata, and for the attainment of *hita* and *sukha* in both the worlds by herself. As we have said above, it is to be noted that an inscription of the 6th year of king Virapurisadata calls Cāntisiri the king's *pituchā* (father's sister); here, however, the king is represented as the son-in-law of the lady. Vogel therefore thinks that Virapurisadata married his cousin, a daughter of his aunt Cāntisiri, between the 6th and 18th years of his reign.

A carved pillar was erected in the 20th year of Virapurisadata's reign in memory of his dead (*saga-gata*) father by the latter's sisters, mothers and consorts. Some figures in the reliefs carved on the pillars have been taken to represent king Cāntamūla I (Ep. Ind., XXI, pp. 63-64).

The Jaggayyapetta inscriptions are dated in the 20th year of king Virapurisadata. The royal genealogy is not given in these inscriptions. They record the erection of five *āyaka-thambhas* (entrance-pillars) at the eastern gate of the Mahācetiya of Lord Buddha, by the manufacturer (*avesani*) Sudatha (Siddhārtha) resident of the village of Mahā-Kādurūra and son of the manufacturer Nakacada (Nāgacandra) of Nadatūra in the Kamaka-raṭha. Kamaka-raṭha seems to be the same as the Karmarāstra of later inscriptions. As for the suffix *-ka*, we may notice the passages *ujanikā-mahārā(ja)-bālikā* and *conarāsaka-mahārāja*, etc., of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions. Karmarāstra has been identified with the northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur district.

IV

EHUVULA CĀPTAMŪLA II.

King Māthariputra Virapurisadata was succeeded by his son Ehuvara Cāptamūla, born of queen Vāsiṣṭhī Bhaṭṭidevā. It is interesting to note that the custom of naming a grandson after his grandfather was prevalent among the Southern Ikṣvākus, as it was in many other ruling dynasties of ancient India. It has been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 6, n. 2) that this custom is sanctioned by Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (I. 1. 1) where we have *tripuruṣānukam nāmakṛtam kuryāt*; Kaiyaṭa on this passage has *pitā tasya ye trayah puruṣās = tān = anukāṇyaty = abhidhatte*.

Several inscriptions of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvara Cāptamūla II have been discovered, some at Nagarjunikonda and one at an adjacent place called Kottampalugu. The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, dated in the 2nd regnal year of the king, record the establishment of a *vihāra* by the Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevī, daughter-in-law of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāptamūla I, wife of king Māthariputra Virapurisadata and mother of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvara Cāptamūla II, for the *ācāryas* of the Bahusūtiya sect. The Bahusūtiyas were a branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The Kottampalugu inscription, dated in the 11th regnal year of king Ehuvara Cāptamūla II, records the construction of a *vihāra* by Kodabhisiri, Mahādevī of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka, granddaughter of king Cāptamūla I, daughter

of king Virapurisadata and sister of king Ehuva Cāpta-mūla II, for the acceptance of the *ācāryas* of the Mahīśāsaka sect. The Ikṣvāku princess Kodahalisiri, as we have noticed above, was possibly the queen of a Cuṣu-Śātakarpi king of Banavāsī. The Buddhist sect of the Mahīśāsakas is mentioned also in other early inscriptions. A *saṃghārāma* is known to have been built for the Mahīśāsaka *ācāryas* somewhere in the Punjab, when the Hūṇa king Toramāna was ruling (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 239).

IMPORTANCE OF THE IKṢVĀKU PERIOD.

The Ikṣvāku inscriptions discovered at Jaggayyapetta in the Kistna district and Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur district are of great importance for the history of Buddhism.

Dr. Dutt thinks (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, V, p. 794) that the site of Nagarjunikonda was a famous resort of Buddhism in the early years of the Christian era and, probably, also an early centre of Mahāyāna. "Just as Bodh-Gayā grew up on the bank of the Nerañjarā as a very early centre of Hīnayāna and a place of pilgrimage for the early Buddhists, so also did Amarāvati (extending to Jaggayyapetta) and Nagarjunikonda on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā (including the tributary Palar) as a flourishing centre of proto-Mahāyāna in the pre-Christian and the early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for the later Buddhists." The construction of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, with its enlargements, decorations and railings, is placed between *circa* 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. South. Ind.*, pp. 122-23), while that of the *stūpas* of Jaggayyapetta and Nagarjunikonda has been placed in or before the 3rd or 4th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 2; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 634).

The *stūpas* of Amarāvati appear to have been built at the time of Śātavāhana suzerainty. That the later Śātavāhanas, who were possibly Brahmanist in faith, showed great favour towards the Buddhists is known to all readers of the Śātavāhana inscriptions. They appear to have had strong Buddhist leaning, if some of them were not

actually Buddhist themselves. The successors of the later Śātavāhanas, the early Ikṣvākus, were however staunch followers of the Brahmanical faith. Vāsisthīputra Cāpṭamūla I, as we have seen, has been credited with the performance of the *agnihotra*, *agniṣtoma*, *vājapeya* and *atvamedha* sacrifices. Evidently Buddhism suffered during the reign of this king.

With the accession of Māṅḍarīputra Virapurisadata on the Ikṣvāku throne, a new era began with the Buddhists of the Kistna-Guntur region. The great *stūpas* of Jaggayyapetta and Nagarjunikonda were built, repaired or extended, and Buddhist Theris were coming for pilgrimage from all the Buddhist countries of the world to this centre of Buddhism. The mention of Sihala-vihāra and of the dedication of a *cetiyaḡhara* specially to the Theris of Ceylon points to the good relation that must have existed between the Buddhist communities of the Ikṣvāku country and their co-religionists of the Island of Ceylon. Thus we see, Buddhism was in its heyday at the time of the later Ikṣvākus.

The existence of such relations among the Buddhist communities of the different countries can be accounted for from the sea-trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and other countries on the one hand and those situated on the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari on the other. Kaṇṭakasela, the great emporium on the bank of the Krishna, appears to have played a large part in this international trade. Dr. Vogel seems to be right in thinking that this trade was largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 10).

The collapse of Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley appears to have begun with the decline of the Ikṣvāku power. As a cause of this collapse, Vogel refers to the "rising of the powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the

Pallava in the South and the Chālukya in the west." It must however also be added that the immediate successors of the Ikṣvākus in the rule of Andhradeśa were all staunch Brahmanist. After the decline of the Ikṣvākus, we know, the Kistna-Guntur region passed to the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Pallavas. Both of these dynasties were Brahmanical Hindu, and the latter claimed to have performed the *āśvamedha* sacrifice which is evidently a sign of aggressive Hinduism. Bṛhatphalāyana Jayavarman, as we shall see, was a devotee of Lord Maheśvara. The Pallava king Śivaskandavarman is known to have performed not only the Brahmanical sacrifices, *Āśvamedha* and *Agniṣṭoma*, but also the *Vājaṇeya* (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2). The significant boast of the early Pallava princes of having been *Dharma-mahārāja* and *Kaliyuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharm-od-dharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* undoubtedly refers to the fact that they were determined to purify their Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism. Not a single king of the Śālaṅkāyana and Viṣṇukūṇḍin lines is as yet known to have Buddhist leaning. On the contrary, we have a Śālaṅkāyana king who performed one *Āśvamedha* sacrifice and a Viṣṇukūṇḍin king who performed no less than eleven *Āśvamedhas* and thousand *Agniṣṭomas*. The decline of Buddhism in the Andhra country is also evidenced by the account of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited An-to-lo (Andhra) and To-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhānyakāṭaka) or Ta-An-to-lo (Mabāndhra) in 639 A.D. and resided at the capital of the latter for "many months" (see *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1913-14, p. 38). Nevertheless Buddhism did not die away all at once. The Buddhist faith of an Ānanda king of Guntur, who appears to have ruled about the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th, clearly shows that Buddhism lingered in the Andhra country, although the glory it enjoyed at the time of the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus

was long a thing of the past. Later traces of Buddhism in the Amarāvati region are found in the Amaravati pillar inscription (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, pp. 26-27) of the Pallava chief Sīṃhavarman (c. A. D. 1100), probably a vassal of Kulottuṅga Cola I (Sewell, *List*, p. 90), and another Amaravati pillar inscription of Koṭa Keta II, from which we know that "Buddhist worship at the old *stūpa* was still maintained and Keta II gave grants in its support" (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 146; Sewell, *op. cit.*, s. v. A. D. 1182). Another inscription records the grant of a lamp to the Buddhist *stūpa* of Amarāvati, made by Bayyalā, daughter of the Nātavādi chief Rudra. This also shows that Buddhist worship was maintained in the Andhra country as late as A. D. 1234 (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

CHAPTER II. THE BRĪHATPHALĀYANAS.

I

JAYAVAMMA (=JAYAVARMAN).

A copper-plate grant of a *rāja* (*mubārāja*, according to the legend of the seal attached to the plates) named Jayavamma, who belonged to the Br̥hatphalāyana gotra, was discovered at Kondamudi in the Tenali taluka of the Kistna district (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315).¹ No other king of this family is as yet known from inscriptions or other sources.

As regards the date of king Jayavarman, Hultzsch says (*loc. cit.*): "The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman who issued the Mayidavolu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nasik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (Nos. 4 and 5) and Vāsisthīputra Pulunāyi (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction." King Jayavarman Br̥hatphalāyana may be placed about the closing years of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A. D.

¹ According to Sewell (*List*, p. 17), "it is just possible that it (*i.e.*, the name Jayavarman) may have been a name assumed by Bappa (*i.e.*, father of Pallava Śivaskandavarman)." The suggestion however is utterly untenable in view of the fact that Jayavarman of the Kondamudi plates belonged to the Br̥hatphalāyana gotra while the Pallavas are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. See my note in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 106.

The grant was issued in the 10th year of Jayavarman's reign from the *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* (victorious camp) of Kudūra (modern Guduru, 4 miles north-west of Masulipatam) which seems to be the same as Koddoura, mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (VII, i, 15) as a place in Maisôlia (Masulipatam).¹

The Kondamudi plates record an order of king Jayavarman, who has been described as *mahessara-pāda-parigahita* and was, therefore, evidently a devotee of Śiva (Mahāśvara), to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta*) at Kudūra to execute the grant of a Brahmadeya (religious gift to Brāhmaṇas) made by the king. *Vyāpṛta*, according to Hemachandra, is the same as *niyogin*, *āyukta* and *karmasacīva* (cf. *niyogī karmasacīva āyukto vyāpṛtaś = ca saḥ*). A *vyāpṛta* was therefore an executive officer. The Brahmadeya was made of the village of Pāmtura (Pandura in the Bandar or Masulipatam taluka according to Dubreuil) in Kudūrahāra, i.e., the *āhāra* or district of Kudūra (cf. Śātavāhani-būra in the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 154). It is therefore apparent that the *vyāpṛta* was in charge of the Kudūra district and held his office at the chief town of the same name.

Scholars think that Kudūrahāra of the Kondamudi grant is the same as the Kudrāhāra-*viṣaya* of the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions and Gudrāhāra, Gudrāvāra and Gudrāra of later inscriptions. The identification may not be impossible. It is, in that case, necessary to think that Kudūrahāra which originally meant "the *āhāra* of Kudūra" gradually came to be used as a place-name itself; because Kudrāhāra (not Kudūra) was the name of the *viṣaya* (province) at the time of the Śālaṅkāyanas.² According to Dubreuil this province

¹ The town of Kudūra is also mentioned in an inscription of Amarāvati (see *Inders. List*, No. 1205).

² Compare *Khetaka āhāra* and *Khetakāhāra viṣaya* (*Boml. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 252).

comprised roughly the present Bandar (Masulipatam) taluka. This region, occupied once by the Brhatphalāyanas, was, as we shall see later on, in the possession of the Śālan-kāyanas of Veṅḡi in the 5th century A. D.

The recipients of the Brahmadeya were the following Brahmans :—Gotama-gota-jāyāpara¹ Savagataja (Sarvaguptārya), Savigija of the Tānava (Tānavya) gotra ; Goginaja and Bhavaṃnaja of the Koḍina (Kaundinya) gotra ; Rudavṇhuja (Rudraviṣṇvārya) of the Bhāradāya (Bhāradvāja) gotra, Rudaghosaja (Rudraghoṣārya) of the Opamānava (Aupamanyava gotra) ; Īsaradataja (Īśvaradattārya) of the Kāṣṇbhāyana (Kāṣṇāyana) gotra ; and Khāṃdarudāja (Skandārudtārya) of the Kośika (Kauśika) gotra. The affix - oja (= ārya) added to the names of these Brāhmaṇas survives even to the present time in Madras names like Veṅkayya (Veṅkārya), Rāmāyya (Rāmārya), etc., and in the surname Ayyar (= Ārya).

The *parihāras* (immunities) granted are interesting to note. They are *apāvesa*, *anomasa*, *alonakhādaka*, *araṭha-xavinayika*, etc. *Apāvesa* is evidently the same as *abhaṭapra-cesa* (exemption from the entrance of an army) of other South Indian inscriptions. Military authorities generally called upon the villagers to meet their demands ; this fact is proved by a record of Mahāsāmantādhipati Śantivarman of Banavāsi. Good governments therefore tried to minimise the exactions of the soldiers by preventing them from entering the villages. Śukra (V. 84) says that soldiers should encamp outside a village and should not enter villages except on official business. *Anomasa* has been taken to mean " exemption from being meddled with." The third *parihāra*, viz., *alonakhādaka*, made the village free from being dug for salt. The salt-mines of the country

¹ The word *jāyāpara*, according to Sanskrit lexicons, means *kāma*, which meaning does not seem to be applicable here. Hultzsch thinks that the passage possibly means a " *grantha* belonging to the Gotama-gotra " (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 312).

were evidently property of the king. The term *araṭhasatī-nayika* has been translated by Senart as "not to be interfered by the District Police."¹

The grant was executed by the *mahātagivara, mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka* (field-marshal?) Bhāpalānavarman. *Mahātagivara,*

¹ A learned discussion on the subject of *parihāra* by Senart is to be found in *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 65-6. "The cognate inscriptions have no doubt as to the privileges which were expressly mentioned here : we have to restore *anomasam alocapāhādakaṃ araṭhasatīnayikam sarajātapārihārikam*. The translation is less certain than the reading. Regarding *apāraṭam*, in Sanskrit *apāraṭyam*, it is sufficient to refer to Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 28, note. *Anomasa* represents *anaramsiyam* ; its certain equivalent in later terminology, namely, *samastarajapānām aṣṭaprahāṣepāyam* (*ibid.*, p. 171, note) seems to imply that the royal officers were prohibited from taking possession of anything belonging to the village. For *alocapāhādaka* the later inscriptions offer several equivalents *alorapāhādikaṇaka* which Bühler (p. 101) has already quoted (Dr. Fleet's No. 55, l. 28, and No. 56), *alocapāhādikaṇaka* in line 32 of the plates of Śivaśaṇḍavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6) and *alocapāhādikaṇaka* in line 17 of the plates of Govindachandra (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 106). These words are far from clear : but if we remember the fact that the production of salt is a royal monopoly (Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 2, note) and the details quoted by Bhagwanlal (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, p. 556, p. 179) regarding the manner of digging the soil for salt which prevailed in the very region of our inscriptions, it seems to me that the explanation proposed by Bhagwanlal, viz., *alocapāhādika* with the Prakrit softening of *f* into *d*, is quite satisfactory. The object of this immunity would thus be to deny to the representatives of the king the right of digging pits for extracting salt.

"The next term seems to be written in our inscriptions *araṭhasatīnayika* or *Tarīnayika* ; but line 13 of the grant of Śivaśaṇḍavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6) distinctly reads *araṭhasatīnayikam*. In stating that this spelling excluded his earlier explanation, Bühler did not suggest another instead of it. I do not know any parallel expression which clears up this one finally. The word seems to represent *arāṭhasatīnayika* ; but etymology alone is an unsafe guide in the interpretation of technical terms. *Vinati* is only used in a moral sense. Could we think of translating : ' exempted from the police, the magistrate of the district *trāṣṭra* : compare Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32, note), or of the *rāṣṭrin* ? This would remind us of those grants in which, on the other hand, it is stated that the right of punishing thefts and offences is reserved by the king, or of those in which the right to punish the ' ten offences ' (*sadātiparādha* ; see, e.g., the Alina plates, l. 67 in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 179, and the Deo-Bharuk inscription, l. 17 ; *ibid.*, p. 217) is transferred to the donee. At least I have nothing more plausible to suggest. It is well known that the different formulas of immunities were variable and always incomplete. And it is not to be wondered at that they should be summed up in a comprehensive and general expression like *sarajātapārihārika*. Elsewhere the texts are more precise in stating that there are eighteen kinds of immunities. It will be enough to quote the inscriptions of the Pallavas, and notably that of Śivaśaṇḍavarman, which reads *aṭṭhārasajātiparihāra* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6)."

according to Vogel, is a mistake for *Mahātalaavara* which occurs so many times in the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus (see *above*). Possibly it was the custom for an official to write down the oral order of the king (*ariyena ānataṃ*). The grant is said to have been signed by the king himself (*sayam chato*).

The seal attached to the Kondamudi plates has, in the centre, a trident in relief (the handle of which seems to end in an arrow), a bow (?), the crescent of the moon and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315). This difference is possibly due to the fact that the seals were kept ready in the king's record office and were attached to the plates when the latter were prepared. Hultsch appears to suggest that the seal is much older than the plates. The Sanskrit legend however seems to show that the seal cannot be placed much earlier than 300 A.D.

ariyain = ukhāni

II

CAPITAL OF THE BṚHATPHALĀYANAS.¹

The only copper-plate grant of the Bṛhatphalāyana dynasty, belonging to king Jayavaṇṇa (= Jayavarman) Bṛhatphalāyana, was discovered, as we have already seen, at Kondamudi a place in the Tenali taluka of the Kistna district (*Ep. Ind.*, VI., p. 315). We have also seen that the grant was issued in the 10th regnal year of Jayavaṇṇa from *viṣaya-khaṇḍhāvārā nagarā Kudūrālo*, i.e. from the *viṣaya-khaṇḍhāvārā* at the city of Kudūra. It is for this reason that scholars have taken Kudūra (modern Guduru near Masulipatam) to be the capital where the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled. Prof. Dubreuil, as for instance, writes: "The Kondamudi plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 315) are dated in the 10th year of king Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, who reigned at Kudūra;" and again: "the town of Kudūra, which was the capital of Jayavarman in the III century of the Christian era, is but the modern village of Guduru which is 4 miles west-north-west of Masulipatam and 6 miles from Ghentāśālā....." (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 84-85). The Professor has rightly identified the place with Koddoura in the country of Maisōlia (Masulipatam), mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy.

It is, however, interesting to note that Koddoura 136° 11' 20" has been mentioned not as a metropolis, but as an ordinary place in Maisōlia (*Geog.*, VII, i, 15) by Ptolemy who is believed to have written his Geography about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The archaic

¹ My paper on the capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas was originally published in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VII, pp. 170-1. There however Jayavarman was placed a little earlier.

characters used on the seal of the Kondamudi grant and its phraseological connection with the grants of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi, as well as its language and script, assign the grant to about 300 A.D. Should we then believe that the Brātiphalāyanas became a ruling power just after the decline of the Śātavāhanas in the early years of the 3rd century A.D. and established themselves at Kudūra (Koddoura) from where they issued charters as early as the end of the third or the beginning of the 4th century? It is, however, far more natural to think that they were originally a local ruling power under the suzerainty of the Śātavāhanas and gradually rose to prominence during and after the latter's decline.

The city of Kudūra has been called a *vijaya-skandhāvāra* in the Kondamudi grant. The word *skandhāvāra* generally means "a camp;" but according to the lexicographer Hemacandra it may also signify "a metropolis." While on expedition, oriental kings are known to have held court in camps.¹ The use of the term *skandhāvāra* in the sense of a metropolis is most probably due to such a practice. *Skandhāvāra* (as sometimes also possibly the term *vāsaka*) appears to mean a temporary residence, and therefore a temporary capital, of a king.² It is, therefore,

¹ For the court of the Moghals, see *General History of the Mogol Empire* (extracted from Memoirs of M. Manouchi) by F. F. Castron (Bangalore Edn.), p. 335ff. "As Pao-pur was at the time of writing these Memoirs the theatre of war against the Seraps, Orangoek removed his court and armies thither."—p. 313. Cf. also "During these years (i.e., the years of Asiatic campaign) Alexander's camp was his court and capital, the political centre of his empire—a vast city, rolling along over mountain and river through Central Asia."—J. B. Bury, *History of Greece for Beginners*, 1913, p. 422.

² It is interesting in this connection to refer to Yuan Chwang's account of the capital of Mahārāṣṭra (Mc-ho-la-ch'a) under Pulakāśin II (Pulo-ki-she) of the Western Calukya dynasty (Beal, *Budd. Records of the Western World*, II, p. 335; also his *Life of Hsuen Tsang*, p. 140). From the inscriptions of the Calukyas and their literature generally, the Pallavas, there can be no doubt that the capital of Pulakāśin II was at Vāṭapi, modern Bādāmi in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Now,

very doubtful whether the *vijaya skandhāvāra* of king Jayavarman Brhatphalāyana could be the permanent capital of the Brhatphalāyanas.

The town of Kudūra, which was the political centre of Kudūrahāra, i.e., the Kudūra district, has been identified, as we have already seen, with a village in the Bandar or Masulipatam taluka. The find of the plates at Kondamudi appears to prove that this region was a part of the Brhatphalāyana kingdom in about 300 A.D. The capital of the Brhatphalāyanas seems therefore not to have been very far from the Masulipatam region.

In this connection it is very interesting to note that Ptolemy makes mention of the *metropolis of Pitundra* (135° 12°) in the country of the people called Maisôloi (*Geog.*, VII. i. § 93). In *op. cit.*, § 79, the Maisôloi are placed near the country of the Salakênnoi (Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅḡ) and in § 15 their country has been called Maisôlia (Masulipatam). Their metropolis, Pitundra, has been identified by Sylvain Lèvi with Pibunda of the *Uttarādhyāyana* and Pithunḍa of the Hathigumpha inscription of king Khāravela (*Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 145). We have seen that the Brhatphalāyanas ruled over the Masulipatam region, which is to be identified with Maisôlia of Ptolemy. Pitundra the capital of Maisôlia in the time of Ptolemy (middle of the 2nd century) appears therefore almost certainly to have been the capital of the family of Jayavarman Brhatpha-

the surroundings of Bādāmi, as scholars have noticed, do not answer to the description given by the Chinese pilgrim, and its distance from Broach (435 miles) is altogether incommensurate with the distance of 1000 li (about 167 miles) as specified by Yuan Chwang. Scholars therefore now generally agree with the view of Fleet that the town in question is Nasik, about 128 miles to the south-east of Broach. Fleet seems to be right when he suggests: "We have therefore to look for some subordinate but important town, far to the north of Bādāmi, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hsien Tsang; most probably because it was the basis of the operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and because in connection with these operations, Pulikeśi II happened to be there at the time" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 355).

lāyana, ruler of the Masulipatam region in the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century.

If we now accept the reading *Pithumḍa* in a passage of the Hathigumpha inscription (line 11) of Khāravela and the interpretation that king Khāravela of Kalinga besieged the city of Pithumḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Brhatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithunda = Pitundra as early as the time of Khāravela (2nd or 1st century B.C.).

CHAPTER III.

THE ANANDAS.

I

HIRANYAGARBHA.¹

As the word *Hiranyagarbha* has some bearing on the question of the genealogy of kings whom we call the Ānandas, we shall deal with this term first.

According to Sanskrit Lexicons, the word *Hiranyagarbha* has two principal meanings. First, it is a well-known epithet of Lord Brahman ; secondly, it is the name of one of the *ṣoḍaśa-mahādāna*, i.e., the sixteen Great Gifts which are enumerated and explained in books like the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, Hemādri's *Vratakhanda* and Ballālasena's *Dān-śāgara*. The sixteen *Mahādānas* are *dāna* (offering) of the following things :—

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Tolāpuruṣa | 9. Dharā |
| 2. Hiranyagarbha | 10. Hiranyāśvaratha |
| 3. Brahmāṇḍa | 11. Hemahastiratha |
| 4. Kalpapādapa | 12. Viṣṇucakra |
| 5. Gosahasra | 13. Kalpalatā |
| 6. Hiranyakāmadhenu | 14. Saptasāgara |
| 7. Hiranyāśva | 15. Ratnadhenu |
| 8. Pañcalāṅgala | 16. Mahābhūtaghaṭa |

These names are more or less of a technical character. They have been explained in full details in the *Mahādānācārta*

¹ This paper was published in *J.R.A.S.*, October, 1934, p. 723ff. A paper explaining the term *hiranyagarbha* was previously published in *Bhāratavarṇa* (Bengali), Bhādra, 1345 B. S., p. 303 f.

section of the *Dānasāgara*, Chapter V of the *Vratakhanda* and Chapter 247 ff. of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.

The word *Hiranyagarbha* occurs several times in the inscriptions of some South Indian kings. In the Gorantla inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102 f.), king Attivarman is called *aprameya-hiranyagarbha-prasava*, which phrase was translated by Fleet, the editor of the Gorantla inscription, as "who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) *Hiranyagarbha*," i.e., Brahman. In the Mahakuta pillar inscription of the Calukya king Maṅgaleśa (*ibid.*, XIX, p. 9 ff.) we have the passage *hiranyagarbha-sambhūta*. Here also Fleet who edited the inscription translated the phrase as "who was descended from (the god) *Hiranyagarbha* (Brahman)." It must be noticed that only particular kings have been connected with *Hiranyagarbha* in the inscriptions of their respective families. If Fleet's interpretation is correct we should have found other kings of the family—wherein one king has been called *Hiranyagarbha-sambhūta*—with titles of the same signification. Moreover, when we notice that in the Mahakuta pillar inscription, this epithet is given only to Pulakeśin I, and not to Jayasimha the first king mentioned, nor to Maṅgaleśa the reigning monarch, there remains no doubt that Fleet's theory is unjustifiable. I therefore hold with Hultzsch that the word *Hiranyagarbha*, in these inscriptions, signifies the second of the sixteen *Mahādānas* or Great Gifts.

While editing the Mattepad plates of Dāmodarvarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 328 ff.), Hultzsch remarked: "A similar feat is ascribed to king Attivarman in another copper-plate grant from the Guntur district, where I translate the epithet *aprameya-Hiranyagarbha-prasavena* by 'who is a producer of (i.e., who has performed) innumerable *Hiranyagarbhas*.'" Hultzsch, here, evidently takes the passage *hiranyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhi-tatpuruṣa* compound to mean "*prasava* (origin, producer) of the

Hiranyagarbha." But he was in difficulty with the word *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta* which occurs in the Ipur grant (No. 1) of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I (*ibid*, p. 335 f.). As *prasūta* is an adjective, it cannot make a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhi-tatpuruṣa* compound. Hultzschi, therefore, had to correct the passage as *Hiranyagarbha-prasūti*, i.e., *prasūti* (origin, producer) of the *Hiranyagarbha* (*ibid*, p. 336, note 7). But when we notice that the epithet *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta* also occurs in the Polamuru plates of the same Viṣṇukunḍin king (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17 ff.), and further that the Mahakuta pillar inscription has *Hiranyagarbha-sambhūta*, there can be no doubt that Hultzschi is wrong in taking the passage *Hiranyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhi-tatpuruṣa* compound. The words *Hiranyagarbha-prasūta* and *Hiranyagarbha-sambhūta* are certainly examples of the *Pañcamī-tatpuruṣa* compound and mean "born of the *Hiranyagarbha*." The word *Hiranyagarbha-prasava* must also mean the same thing. I therefore take it as a case of the *Bahuvrīhi* compound to mean "one whose *prasava* (origin, producer, progenitor) is the *Hiranyagarbha*." But how can a king be born of the *Hiranyagarbha* which we have taken to signify the second of the sixteen *Mahādānas*?

In the performance of the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna* ceremony, the thing to be given away to the Brahmanas is a *Hiranyagarbha*, literally, "a golden womb." *Hiranyagarbha* here signifies a golden *kunda*, three cubits in height. Cf.

*brāhmaṇair = ānayet kuṇḍaṃ tapāniya-mayaṃ śubham
dāsaptaty-aṅgul-occhrāyaṃ hema-paṅkaja-garbhaṃ.*

To discuss in details all the functions of the ceremony is not necessary for our purpose. The quotations, which are all from the 249th Chapter of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, will sufficiently clear the point.

After due *arcanā*, the performer of the Mahādāna ceremony is to utter a *mantra* in adoration to Lord Hiraṇyagarbha (here, Lord Viṣṇu), two lines of which run :

bhūr-loka-pramukhā lokās = tava garbhe vyavasthitāḥ
bram-ādayas = tathā devā nomas = te viśva-dhāriṇe.

Thereafter the performer enters into the *hiraṇyagarbha*, i.e., the golden *kuṇḍa*, and the priests perform the ceremonies of *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana* and *śimantonmayana* of the "golden womb," as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. Cf.

evam = āmantrya tan-madhyam = āvisy = āmbha udan-
mukhaḥ

muṣṭibhyāṃ parisamgrhya dharmarāja-caturmukau
jānumadhye śirah kṛtvā tiṣṭheta śvāsa-pāṇcakam
garbhādhānam pūṃsavanaṃ śimantonmayam tathā
kuryur = hiraṇya-garbhasya tatas = te deva-puṅgavāḥ.

Then the performer is taken out of the "golden womb," and the *jāta-karma* and other necessary functions are performed by the priests, as if the performer is a newly born child. After that, the performer is to utter another *mantra*, wherein occur the following significant lines :

mātr = āham janitāḥ pūrvam martya-dharmā sur-ottama
tvad-garbha-sambhavād = eṣa divya-deho bhavamy = āham.

"O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother (and) was *martya-dharmā* (one having the qualities of an earthly creature). (But) now owing to my (re-) birth from your womb, I become *divya-deha* (one having celestial body)."

That the performer of the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna* was thought to be "born of the Hiranyagarbha, i.e., golden womb," is also clear from the next *mantra* to be uttered by the priests :

adya-jātaśya te = 'ngāni abhiṣekṣyāmahe vayam.

After the ceremony is over, the priests receive the gift of that golden womb together with many other things.

II

GENEALOGY OF THE ĀNANDA KINGS.¹

Two kings of the Ānanda family are known from their inscriptions. They are Attivarman of the Gorantla plates (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102 f.) and Dāmodarvarman of the Mattepad plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 327 f.). We have already dealt with the reference to the word *Hiranyagarbha* in the Gorantla inscription and with its different interpretations. Hultzsch rightly says: "When editing the Gorantla plates of Attivarman, my late lamented friend Fleet believed this king (*scil.* Attivarman) to have been a Pallava—chiefly because he interpreted the epithet *aprameya-Hiranyagarbha-prasavana* by 'who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiranyagarbha.' As I have shown above, the rendering is inadmissible in the light of the corresponding epithet used in the fresh plates, and Fleet himself had since withdrawn his original opinion in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, second edition,² p. 334 " (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, 328). In the Gorantla inscription, Attivarman has been called *kandaranṛpati-kula-samudbhūta*, "sprung from the family of king Kandara"; the family (*kula*), in its turn, is called *ānanda-maharṣi-vaṃśa-samudbhūta*, "sprung from the

¹ See my note on the Ānanda Genealogy in *J.N.A.S.*, October, 1891, p. 733 f.

² "And now that we know more about the early history and Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas, it is difficult to adapt these details to their accounts, though Attivarman does, like the Pallavas, claim to belong to the posterity of the god Hiranyagarbha, i.e., Brahman. On the other hand, the name *Kandāra*,—and doubtless *Kandara* also,—is a variant of *Kṛṣṇa*; and this suggests that we may possibly have here an early Śaṅkṛkūṭa record" (Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Part II, p. 394).

lineage of the great sage Ānanda". On the other hand, the Mattepad plates were issued from *vijaya-Kandara-pura*, "victorious city (founded by) king Kandara." Dāmodaravarman is, here, said to have belonged to the Ānanda-gotra. Both the Gorantla and Mattepad grants were discovered in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. While editing the Mattepad plates, Hultzsch, on these grounds, suggested that the three kings Kandara,¹ Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman belonged to the same family and that they may be styled "the Ānanda kings of Guntur."

The palaeography of the Gorantla and Mattepad records suggests that the rule of king Attivarman and that of king Dāmodaravarman were not separated by a great interval. Considering the facts that the characters of the Gorantla inscription resemble, in some respects, those of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 1 ff.) and that both Nagarjunikonda, the find-spot of some Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and Kanteru, that of some Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are localities of the Guntur district, it seems to me that the Ānanda kings, whose inscriptions are also found in the same district, began to grow powerful about the middle of the 4th century A.D., when the power of the Pallava successors of the Ikṣvākus was gradually

¹ Venkayya in his Report for 1900, pp. 8 and 35, refers to a much defaced Sanskrit inscription mentioning the daughter of king Kandara of the Ānandagotra, at Chenzale to the west of Guntur. Kandara, Kandhara, Kaṇḍāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra and Kannara are Prakrit variants of the Sanskrit name Kṛpā (*Romē. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 410, note 11. Some inscriptions of the Rājatarā style the Rājatrakūṭa king Kṛpā III as *Kaṇḍhāra-puravar-Adhivara*, supreme lord of Kaṇḍhārapura, the best of towns (*ibid.*, pp. 419, 530 and note 6; and 384, note 4). This fact appears to have led Fleet to suggest a Rājatrakūṭa connection of Attivarman (*ibid.*, 396). But as suggested by the same scholar (*ibid.*, 384, note 4) the name of Kaṇḍhārapura "may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛishṇapura, derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Chalukya King Guguḥa Vijayāditya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa II (*Kṛishṇa-pura-dāhana*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102, n. 6)."

declining in the Andhra country. The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions have been assigned to the 3rd century A.D. and, as I shall show below, the Kanera plates are to be ascribed to the 5th century A.D. Kings Attivarman and Dāmodaravarman may, therefore, be conjecturally placed about the second half of the 4th century of the Christian era.

But which of the two kings of the Ānanda family came earlier? According to Hultzsch, the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed than those of the Mattepad grant which is besides partly written in Prakrit; "consequently Dāmodaravarman must have been one of the predecessors of Attivarman" (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 328).

As regards the first point, viz., that the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed, I must say that when two epigraphs belong to the same period it is extremely difficult to determine as to which of them is the earlier. In our section on the Viṣṇukunḍin genealogy below, we shall show that the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur grant (No. 2) was suggested by Hultzsch, on *palaeographical* grounds, to have been the grandfather of Mādhavavarman (I) of the Ipur grant (No. 1). We shall also show there that the former was actually not the grandfather, but the grandson, of the latter.¹ Since the handwritings of two different scribes of even the same age may be quite dissimilar, I do not think it impossible that the difference in time between the execution of the Mattepad and that of the Gorantla grant is short and that Dāmodaravarman of the Mattepad grant was a successor of Attivarman on the throne of Kandarapura.²

¹ See also my paper on the genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 273 ff.

² Cf. "Not only the plates of the Pallavas but also those of the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas prove that the alphabets differ much according to the scribes, who have engraved the plates; and the documents of the same reign do not sometimes resemble one another." (*Ann. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 65-66.)

As regards the second point, viz., that the Mattepad grant is partly written in Prakrit, I am afraid, it is a misrepresentation. In fact, the Mattepad plates are, like the Gorantla plates, written in Sanskrit; but it is true that the names of the Brāhmaṇa recipients of the king's gift are written in Prakrit, e.g., Kassava-Kumārajja (Sanskrit: Kāśyapa-Kumārārya), etc. We must notice, however, that the Gorantla inscription also exhibits the same peculiarity. I think it even more significant that the name of the king is here *Attivarman* and not *Hastivarman*. *Atti* is a Dravidic form of Sanskrit *hastin*, through the literary Prakrit from *hatthi*. Names like *Attivarman*,¹ *Kumārajja*, etc., only prove that both these grants were issued in a time when the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in South Indian epigraphy was nearly, but not fully, complete.

There are, besides, two other points in support of our suggestion. Firstly, in the Gorantla inscription, the *kandara-nṛputi-kula* has been called *bhagavato vakeśvarādhi-vāsinaś=tribhuvana-kartuḥ sambhoś=carana-kamala-rajah-pavitrikṛta*, which appears to suggest that Sambhu (Śiva) was the family deity of the Ānanda kings and that they were Śaivas. On the other hand, Dāmodaravarman is called in his inscription *bhagavataḥ samyakṣumbuddhasya pādānudhyāta*, which clearly shows that he was a Buddhist. If the Ānanda kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmodaravarman who was a Buddhist would appear to have come after Attivarman. Secondly, the inscribed faces of the Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman are "numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book." This fact also

¹ With the name of Attivarman may be compared that of Attimallap, a laudatory of the Cola king Rājāśja (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, No. 76). Attimallap was also the surname of Kṛṣṇa III Maṅgala. Compare also Attivarman in Richhorn's *List*, No. 1079; and "Antirāja or Attirasa, born at Nāraṇapara in the Andhra country" in *Bomb. Gov.*, I, Pt. II, p. 507.

seems to suggest that Dāmodaravarman came after Attivarman.

But, what was the relationship between these two kings of the Ānanda family, who, we think, were not far removed from each other in time?

In this connection, I like to draw the attention of readers to the epithet *abandhya-gosahast-āneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* applied to the name of king Dāmodaravarman in the Mattepad plates. This epithet has been translated by Hultzschi as "who is the origin of the production (i.e., who has caused the performance) of many Hiranyagarbhas and of (gifts of) thousand pregnant cows." This translation is defective for several reasons.

We have seen that Hultzschi has wrongly interpreted the passage *hiranyagarbha-prasava* as the "producer of the Hiranyagarbha." As we have shown, it should mean "one whose producer is the Hiranyagarbha." The corresponding passage of the Mattepad plates is *hiranyagarbh-odbhava*, which means exactly the same thing. Hultzschi says: "he (scil. Dāmodaravarman) boasts of having performed certain Brahmanical rites, viz., Gosahasra and Hiranyagarbha (l. 2 f.)." But it seems to me hardly tenable that Dāmodaravarman who was professedly a Buddhist performed these rites which are professedly Brahmanical. Besides, if Hultzschi's interpretation is right, why did the composer use *hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* and not *hiranyagarbh-odbhava* which is the naturally expected form? The use of *hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* in the sense of "performer of the Hiranyagarbha" seems to me highly awkward in an ordinary prose composition. The natural meaning of the phrase *hiranyagarbh-odbhav-odbhava* is "one whose *odbhava* (producer, father) is Hiranyagarbh-odbhava (i.e., performer of the Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna)."

As regards *abandhya-gosahasra*, I do not think that the word *abandhya* ever means "pregnant." *Abandhya*, i.e.,

not-barren, which also means *amogha-phal-odaya* (producer of unfailing good and prosperity) according to the Sanskrit lexicon *Rājanirghaṇṭa*, seems to refer not to *go* as Hultzsch has taken it, but to the Gosahasra, the fifth of the sixteen Mahādānas of the *Purāṇas*. The whole phrase *abandhya-gosahasr-āneka-hiranya-garbh-odbhav-odbhava*, then, means “one whose *udbhava* (i.e., father) is Abandhyagosahasra (i.e., performer of a Gosahasra producing unfailing success) and Aneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhava (i.e., performer of many Hiranyagarbhas).

Now, who is this Abandhya-gosahasra-Aneka-hiranya-garbh-odbhava, the *udbhava* (father) of king Dāmodaravarman? Curiously enough, in the Gorantla inscription, Attivarman is called *aprameya-hiranyagarbha-prasava*, which is obviously the same as *aneka-hiranyagarbh-odbhava*. I therefore do not think it quite impossible that it is king Attivarman who was the father of king Dāmodaravarman of the Mattepad plates. It may however be argued that the Mattepad plates credit the father of king Dāmodaravarman with the performance of a Gosahasra as well; but there is no reference to this Mahādāna in Attivarman's own Gorantla grant. The Gosahasra mahādāna may have been performed by Attivarman after the execution of the Gorantla grant. It may also be a case of the *Argumentum ex Silentio*.

III

ATTIVARMAN(=HASTIVARMAN).

As we have seen, the Ānanda king Attivarman was a devotee of Sambhu (Śiva) and performed "many" Hiraṇyagarbhas. The performance of such a costly *mahādāna* as the Hiraṇyagarbha for more than once (and probably also of a Gosahasra) seems to show that he was a rich and powerful prince. His epithet *pratāp-opanata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇḍala* suggests that there were other ruling chiefs who acknowledged his suzerainty. His inscription tells us that he acquired fame in ruling his subjects with justice.

The Gorantla inscription records the gift of eight hundred *paṭṭis* (pieces) of land in the village of Tāṇḍikōṇḍa on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇabennā (*i.e.*, the Krishna; see *infra*, and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 334 n) river and also of the village of Āntukkūra, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kottīśārman, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra. The name of the village, read now as *Tāṇḍikōṇḍa* by Hultzsch, was originally read by Fleet as *Tānthikontha* (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 328). The village has been identified by Hultzsch with the modern Tāḍikōṇḍa, ten miles to the north of Guntur and to the south of the Krishna. Āntukkūra, according to him, is probably modern Gani-Ātkūru to the west of Bezvāḍa. The recipient Kottīśārman has been described as knowing the Āpastamba-sūtra and also the three Vedas, *viz.*, *Rk*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*.

The seal of king Attivarman attached to the Gorantla plates is circular. "The emblem on it is probably some god, sitting cross-legged on an altar, but it is anything but clear, even in the original" (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 102). The figure is shunk in the flat surface of the seal, instead of being raised in relief on a counter-sunk surface as is usually the case.

IV

DĀMODARAVARMAṆ.

We have already said much about this king. The Mattepad grant was issued on the 13th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the 2nd regnal year of the king. It records the grant of the village of Kampūra with all *parihāras*, to a number of Brāhmaṇas. *Parihāra*, i.e., "immunity, privilege, exemption from taxes," is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastri's 2nd ed., p. 73). The *parihāras* are sometimes stated to be of eighteen kinds, but are very often referred to as *sarvajāta-parihāra* (immunities of all kinds). For some of them see pages 43-44 above. The Mattepad grant was issued from the victorious city of Kandarapura which was possibly the capital of the kings of the Ānanda line. The recipients of the grant were the following: Buddajja (Buddrārya), Nandijja (Nandyārya), Khandajja (Skandārya), Bhavajja (Bhavārya), Agnijja (Agniyārya), Sirijja (Śrīyārya), Savarajja (Savarārya) and Virajja (Virārya) of the Koṇḍinna (Kaṇḍinya)-gotra, Dāmajja (Dāmārya), Kumārajja (Kumārārya), Veṇujja (Viṣṇvārya), Devajja (Devārya) Nandijja and Dīmajja (Dīnārya) of the Kassava (Kāśyapa)-gotra and Bhaddajja (Bhadrārya) of the Āgastigotra.

The seal of Dāmodaravarman attached to the Mattepad plates is oval and is said to be much worn. It bears in relief, according to Hultzsch, the figure of a "seated bull" facing the proper right.

We do not know who succeeded Dāmodaravarman on the throne of Kandarapura. The end of the Ānanda dynasty is wrapped up in obscurity. They were possibly subdued or supplanted by the Śālaṅkāyana in the 5th century A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ŚĀLAṆKĀYANAS.

I

GENEALOGY OF THE ŚĀLAṆKĀYANAS.¹

While editing the Kolleru (Kollair) grant of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman, son of Caṇḍavarman, in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175 ff. (Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions: No. XVIII), Fleet remarked: "In Sir W. Elliot's facsimiles I have [found] another copper-plate inscription of Vijayanandivarmā and his *Yuvamahārāja*, whose name seems to be Vijayatuṅgavarmā or Vijayabudhavarṃā." He appended the following note to the name of the *Yuvamahārāja*: "The original has, l. 3, 'Vijayabudhavarṃassa,' and in the margin, a little above the line, there is the character 'ddha'—differing not much from 'ṅga' as there written—apparently intended to be introduced somewhere in the line as a correction." Now, as we shall presently see, this statement regarding the inscription is really wrong and was subsequently corrected by Fleet himself. But, unfortunately, the blunder has become permanent in later writings on the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy.

En passant, I may draw the attention of readers to the names of these kings generally accepted and used by scholars. The names can hardly be Vijayanandivarman, Vijayabuddhavarman and the like.

¹ My paper on the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 208 ff.

The Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are stated to be issued from Śrī-vijaya-veṅgīpura, Vijaya-veṅgīpura or Vijaya-veṅgī. The Kadamba grants are generally issued from Śrī-vijaya-vaijayantī, Śrī-vijaya-triparvata and Śrī-vijaya-palāśikā.¹ The Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 327 ff.) were issued from Vijaya-kandarapura. We have also references to Śrī-vijaya-kāñcīpura, Śrī-vijaya-palakkada and Śrī-vijaya-daśanapura in some of the Pallava inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 142 ff., and I, p. 297; *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 50 ff., p. 154 ff.). There can be no doubt that the names of the places are Veṅgīpura, Kāñcīpura, Vaijayantī, Palāśikā, etc., and that *vijaya* or *śrī-vijaya* has been prefixed to them simply for the sake of glorification. I have no doubt that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja of the Kollair grant is similarly Nandivarman, and not *Śrī-vijaya*- or *Vijaya*-nandivarman, as is generally taken to be. *Vijaya* and *Śrī-vijaya*, in such cases, mean *vijaya-yukta* and *Śrī-vijaya-yukta* respectively.² When prefixed to proper names, they make examples of the *Tatpuruṣa* compound of the *Śākapārthivādi* class. The word *jaya* is also used in this way. As for instance. Karmānta (modern [Bad] -Kāntā near Comilla) has been mentioned as *jaya-Karmānta-vāsaka* in the Ashrafpur plate of Devakhaḍga (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1588). It must also be noticed that in the Peddavegi and Kanteru (No. 2) grants the reigning Śālaṅkāyana king is simply called Nandivarman. Note also that the Pallava king Skandavarman II in his own Omgodu (No. 1) grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246) calls himself Śrī-vijaya-Skandavarman, while in the Uruvupalli grant of his son Viṣṇugopavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 50) and in the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira (*ibid.*, XV, p. 246; VIII, p. 159) and Mangalur (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 154) grants of his grandson Simhavarman he is simply called Skandavarman.

¹ See the Kadamba grants edited by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, VI and VII.
(?) teṭṭapa śrī-vijayaḥ = e = aṭṭa sardēṭṭāṇṇa khaṇṇipati : Mahāśālā, I, 62, 24.

To come to our point. The first scholar who accepted the wrong information of Fleet and added thereto something of his own, seems to be Prof. Dubreuil, the author of *Ancient History of the Deccan* (Pondicherry, 1920). Before he wrote, a Prakrit copper-plate inscription of another Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Devavarman, had been discovered near Ellore. It was edited by Hultsch in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 56 ff. In *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Dubreuil therefore speaks of four Śālaṅkāyana monarchs, viz.,

1. Devavarman of the Ellore plates,
2. Candavarman, and his son
3. Nandivarman of the Kollair plates,
4. Buddhavarman, son of (3) Nandivarman mentioned

in the facsimile referred to by Fleet. As regards Buddhavarman, Dubreuil has quoted the passage of Fleet, and remarked: "This name is probably Buddhavarman, for in the margin, there is the character *dha*" (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 89). Evidently the Professor goes a step further. I do not know from which authority he learnt that the letter in the margin is *dha* and not *ddha*, as is attested by Fleet.

The mistake was next repeated by K. V. Lakshmana Rao who edited the two copper-plate grants discovered at Kanteru, one belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman and the other to the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Skandavarman.¹ Like Dubreuil, Lakshmana Rao has quoted the same passage of Fleet and has taken "Vijaya Buddhavarman" as a king belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 26). It is to be noted that Fleet hesitatingly proposed an alternative of two names, viz., Tuṅḡavarman and Buddhavarman, with a

¹ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 26 ff.; the plates appear to have been originally edited by the same scholar in *Journal of the Andhra Academy or Andhra Sahitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XI, p. 113 ff.

slight inclination towards the latter ; then Dubreuil showed favour for the name Buddhavarman ; and now Lakshmana Rao takes Buddhavarman as an established name in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Next we come to R. Subba Rao, who has edited the Peddavegi copper-plates of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman II (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 92 ff.). He refers to five inscriptions belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana kings. " Of these a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. (? Sir Walter) Elliot remains unpublished : but two kings (?) mentioned in it are known to us as Vijayanandivarman Yuvamahārāja (?) and Vijayabuddhavarman. The late Mr. Lakshmana Rao edited in *Andhra Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XI, two Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions discovered in Kaneru near Guntur and these belong to Nandivarman and Skandavarman. Another Śālaṅkāyana inscription discovered in Kallair lake and (*sic.*) which belongs to Vijaya Nandivarman, eldest son of Chaṇḍavarman, was published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, by Mr. Elliot (? Dr. Fleet). A Prakrit inscription discovered at Ellore which belongs to Vijaya Devavarman was published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX " (*ibid.*, p. 93). By this time, everything is complete.¹

I am afraid, these scholars have not carefully read all the inscriptions edited by Fleet in his well-known " Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions " series. It is however wrong to say that " a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished." It was actually published by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 100 ff. (Sans. Old-Can. Ins., No. LXXIV). " This is the grant

¹ The theory of the existence of a Prakrit record mentioning two Śālaṅkāyana princes named Vijaya-Nandivarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman in Elliot's collection is also accepted in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.* 1926-27, pp. 74-75. and in such a recent work as Prof. Louis de La Vallée Poussin's *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde* (Histoire du Monde, VI 2, Paris, 1936), p. 233.

of Vijayabuddhavarṃā," he says there, "of which I have spoken at Vol. V, p. 175. I now give the text from the original plates which belong to Sir Walter Elliot."

Fleet's reading of the grant is as follows :

L. 1. Siddha Sirivijayakhandavamma-mahārājassa
Samvachhara.....

L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhārattāyana Pallavā-

L. 3. paṃ Sirivijayabuddhavarṃassa devī.....

L. 4. kujana vīhā (?) rudevī Kaḍā (?) viya.....

No argument is necessary to prove that the inscription belongs to the Pallavas and refers to the king Skandavarman and the Crown-prince Buddhavarman, and that it has nothing to do with the Śālāṅkāyanas. Fleet was himself conscious of what he said before, and remarked (*ibid.*, p. 101) : "And Vijayabuddhavarṃā is said to be a Pallava, and of the Bhārattāyana *gotra*. There is therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarṃā of this grant and the Vijayanandivarṃā of the Veṅgī grant at Vol. V, p. 175, who was of the Śālāṅkāyana *gotra*." Fleet, however, could not translate the inscription, as it is written in Prakrit. It has later been carefully edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII (p. 143 ff., "British Museum Plates of Chārudēvī" with "Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman"). The first plate has been thus deciphered and translated by Hultzsch :

Siddha//

L. 1. Siri-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa sam-
vachchhar[ā].....[/*]

L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pallavā-

L. 3. paṃ Si[ri]-vijaya-Buddhavarṃassa devī [Bu-]
ddhi.....

L. 4. kura-janavī Chārudēvī ka[ḍake] viya.....[/*]

“Success! The years (*of the reign*) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman. Chārudēvī, the queen of the Yuvamahārāja, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (*of the family*) of the Pallavas (*and*) mother of [Buddhyaṅ]kura, (*addresses the following order*) [to the official at] Ka[ṭaka].”

There can, then, be no question of a Buddhavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana.

The following kings are so far known from inscriptions to have belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Ellore Prakrit grant | (i) Devavarman. |
| 2. Kollair grant | (i) Caṇḍavarman ; |
| | (ii) Nandivarman, the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman. |
| 3. Peddavegi grant | (i) Hastivarman ; |
| | (ii) Nandivarman I, son of Hastivarman ; |
| | (iii) Caṇḍavarman, son of Nandivarman I ; |
| | (iv) Nandivarman II, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman. |
| 4. Kanteru grant (No. 1) | (i) Skandavarman. |
| 5. Kanteru grant (No. 2) | (i) Nandivarman. |

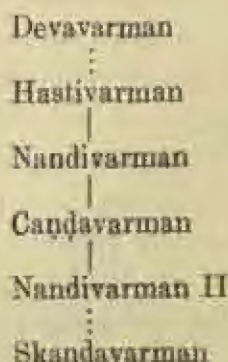
There can be no doubt that Nandivarman of the Kollair grant is identical with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi grant, since both of them are described in the inscriptions as “the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.” It is however not quite clear whether Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant (No. 2) is identical with either of the two Nandivarmans of the Peddavegi plates or he is a third king different from them. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to identify him with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi grant. Both in the Kollair and the Peddavegi grants Nandivarman II is called

bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāto bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktoḥ parama-bhāgavatoś = śālaṅkāyana. It is interesting to note that exactly the same epithets have been applied to Nandivarman also in the plates discovered at Kanteru. It must moreover be noted that the king has the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* in all these three inscriptions and that no other Śālaṅkāyana king is as yet known to have used this epithet. It appears, then, almost certain that Nandivarman of the Kanteru plates is also, like the king of the same name of the Kollair grant, identical with Nandivarman II of the Peddavegi plates. There is unfortunately nothing from which we can determine the precise relationship that existed between Devavarman or Skandavarman on the one hand and the line of the remaining four kings on the other.

As the Ellore grant is written in Prakrit, there can hardly be any doubt that king Devavarman ruled before Skandavarman and Nandivarman II who used Sanskrit in their inscriptions. The character of the Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II appear to be slightly more developed than that used in the Ellore plates of Devavarman. Devavarman, therefore, may be placed before Hastivarman who appears to have been succeeded regularly by his son, grandson and great-grandson. Considering the facts that the inscriptions of Nandivarman II are to be palaeographically assigned to about the middle of the 5th century A.D., and that he was preceded by three kings of his line, it seems probable that Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant came after Nandivarman II. We however do not know whether Devavarman was the immediate predecessor of Hastivarman¹ or Skandavarman the immediate successor

¹ Devavarman seems to have ruled about 285-45 A.D. (see below). He therefore may have been the immediate predecessor (father?) of Hastivarman. See my paper in *Ind. Coll.*, I, pp. 438-502.

of Nandivarman II.¹ The genealogical tree then stands thus :



It may be noticed here that this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman of the Peddavegi plates can hardly be any other than the *vaṅgeyaka*-Hastivarman, mentioned in the famous Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.² The main arguments in favour of this assertion are the following :

(i) The Śālaṅkāyana line is the only dynasty which can be properly called *vaṅgeyaka* (belonging to Veṅgī), as all the grants of the Śālaṅkāyana kings are issued from Veṅgīpura. No other early dynasty is known to have had its headquarters at the city of Veṅgī.³

¹ Some scholars have suggested that Skandavarman might have been the younger brother of Nandivarman II (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 27). The conspicuous mention in Nandivarman II's inscriptions of his being the eldest son of Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman may suggest that the king had a rival in one of his younger brothers. We however do not as yet definitely know whether this younger brother could be Skandavarman of the Kaneru grant No. 1.

² *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, No. 1; see however *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I, p. 93. More recent works on Indian history regard *Vaṅgeyaka* Hastivarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription as a Pallava king or a Pallava viceroy of the king of Kāśī. See, for instance, Sewall's *List* (1933), p. 375.

³ It may be noted that a Sanskrit grant belonging to the Pallava Dharmamahārāja Simhavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, V p. 124) refers to Veṅgoṣṭra. Simhavarman is there said to have granted a village in the Veṅgoṣṭra. The grant was issued

(ii) The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled according to Dubreuil, "between 350 and 450 A.D." (*op. cit.*, p. 87); and Bunnell thought that the Kollair grant of Nandivarman may be palaeographically assigned to the 4th century A.D. (*South Indian Palaeography*, p. 14, n. 2). It is therefore generally accepted that the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled contemporaneously with the early Guptas (320-467 A.D.).

As regards the date proposed by Dubreuil, it may be said that the Śālaṅkāyanas certainly began to rule long before 350 A.D. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 3rd ed., p. 341, n. 1) has rightly identified the Śālaṅkāyanas with the Salakēnoi mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (about 140 A.D.). Ptolemy says: "Beyond the Maisōloi (*cf.* Masulipatam) are the Salakēnoi near the Arousia mountains, with the following cities: Bēnagouron

from Daśanapura, which had been identified by Venkayya with modern Darsi in the Nellore district (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 293). "None of these places Tambrāṣa, Palakkōḍa, Daśanapura or Maṇmātura (from where some Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas were issued) has been identified definitely, although a suggestion has been made by the late Mr. Venkayya that they are to be looked for in the vicinity of the region comprised by the modern Nellore district" (B. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kancī*, p. 55). Prof. Dubreuil also places the Daśanapura region in the Nellore and Guntur districts (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 69). The Veṅḡ country, we know, lay "between the Krishna and the Godavari." If this Veṅḡrāṣṭra refers to the country of Veṅḡ, it may be assumed that, at the time of Sīṃhavarman Pallava, the southern fringe of this country was under the possession of the Pallavas. There is however, as yet no evidence to prove that the capital city of Veṅḡ was ever occupied by the Pallavas. We must also note that even the grandfather of this Sīṃhavarman used Sanskrit in his inscription (*cf.* Omgala plates of Skandavarman II: *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 240 ff.). It is generally accepted that Sanskrit was introduced in Southern Inscriptions in the 4th century A.D. Sīṃhavarman therefore came some time after the reign of Samudragupta. See *infra*.

It may however be conjectured that with the extension of the Veṅḡ kingdom under the Śālaṅkāyanas, the name Veṅḡ also extended over Andhradeśa, as far south as Karmarāṣṭra (northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur). Veṅḡrāṣṭra in the possession of the Pallavas is, then, to be conjectured to have been originally the southernmost part of the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom. There is however no evidence to prove that the Pallavas were in possession of the city of Veṅḡ.

140° 24'; Kāstra 138° 19' 30' ; Magaris 137° 30' 18° 20' '' (*Geography*, VII, i, § 79). Bēnagouron, the premier city of the Salakēnoi, appears to me to be a mistake for Bēngaouron (Beṅgapura) which is no other than the well-known Veṅgīpura (*cf.* *Veṅgorāṣṭra* of the Mangalur grant).

As regards the conjecture of Burnell, I may simply point out that, if we compare the characters of the Kollair plates (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 175 and Pls.) with those of the inscriptions of the early Eastern Calukyas¹ and of the Viṣṇukunḍins,² it becomes impossible for us to accept such an early date for the Kollair grant. I have no hesitation in asserting that palaeography has nothing to say against the ascription of the inscriptions of Nandivarman II to the middle of the 5th century A.D. It is then quite possible that his great-grandfather Hastivarman ruled about a century earlier and was a contemporary of Samudragupta (*circa* 330 to 375 A.D.).

(iii) Lastly, excepting this Sālaṅkāyana Hastivarman we do not know of any other king, who ruled at Veṅgī, whose name was Hastivarman and who can any how be placed in the middle of the 4th century A.D, which is the time of Samudragupta.

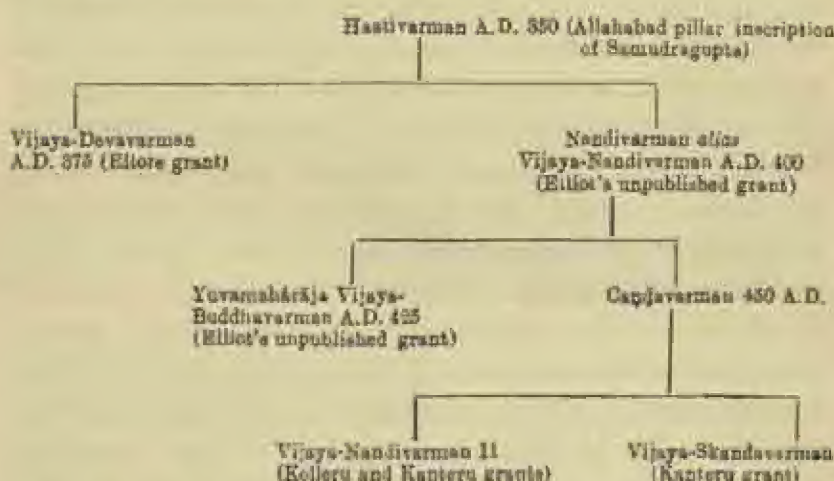
Accepting the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Sālaṅkāyana Hastivarman (*c.* 350 A.D.), we may draw the following approximate chronological chart of the Sālaṅkāyana Mahārājas.

¹ See, e.g., the Polamuru plates of Jayasīṃha I (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IV, p. 73, Pls.); and the Setara plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 310-11).

² See, e.g., the Polamuru plates of Mādhavarman (II) who cannot be much earlier than Jayasīṃha I (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17, Pls.).

Devavarman	...	...	c. 320-345 A.D. ?
⋮			
Hastivarman	...	...	c. 345-370 A.D.
Nandivarman I	...	...	c. 370-395 A.D.
Capdavarman	...	...	c. 395-420 A.D.
Nandivarman II	...	...	c. 420-445 A.D.
⋮			
Skandavarman	...	...	c. 445-470 A.D. ? ¹

¹ *As. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 74 notices the following tree of Śālaṅkāyana genealogy proposed by M. Somanekhara Sarma.



We have tried to prove above the following points: (1) Devavarman probably ruled earlier than Hastivarman and therefore may not have been the latter's son; (2) there was no Śālaṅkāyana inscription in Elliot's collection and there was no prince named Buddhavarman in the Śālaṅkāyana family; (3) the relation between Skandavarman and Capdavarman is not definitely known.

II

CANĀVARMAN, LORD OF KALINGA¹

In his latest work, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (1932), p. 18, s.v. A.D. 340, the late Mr. Sewell has thus remarked on the Komarti grant: "About the fourth century A.D. A set of plates from Komarti in Ganjam, dated in the sixth regnal year of the Śālaṅkāyana chief Chāṇḍavarman." The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his work, *History of India* (1933), even goes so far as to suggest that the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled not only in Kalinga but belonged originally also to Magadha (pp. 127-28). Sewell and Jayaswal here evidently follow the views of Hultzsch who, while editing the Komarti plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 142 ff., was inclined to identify king Chāṇḍavarman mentioned in this inscription with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Chāṇḍavarman, father of Nandivarman II. Kielhorn, who entered the Kolleru inscription of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana in his List of Inscriptions of Northern India (*Ep. Ind.*, V, App., No. 686) was obviously of the same opinion.* Prof. Dubreuil remains silent about the suggestion of Hultzsch, when he discusses the Komarti grant (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 94), though he does not take up the suggestion of Hultzsch. We may not accept the identification, but such great authorities in South Indian epigraphy as Hultzsch and Kielhorn cannot be passed over in silence. Moreover, a discussion on this

¹ My note on Chāṇḍavarman of the Komarti Plates was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, p. 780 ff.

* Following Kielhorn, D. R. Bhandarkar has also entered the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions in his List of Inscriptions of Northern India (*Ep. Ind.*, XX-XXIII, App., Nos. 3087-31).

point has now become indispensable after some scholars have accepted the old suggestion made by Hultzsch and supported by Kielhorn.

Regarding the Komarti plates, Hultzsch says that "a connection may be established with the plates (*i.e.*, the Kollair plates) of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Vijayanandivarman, who (1) like Canḍavarman, professes to have been devoted to the feet of the lord, (his) father (*happa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*), and who (2) was the eldest son of Mahārāja Canḍavarman. The close resemblance between the alphabets of the plates of Vijayanandivarman and of the Komarti plates suggests that Canḍavarman, the father of Vijayanandivarman, may have been identical with the Mahārāja Canḍavarman who issued the Komarti plates."

I agree with Hultzsch that the characters of the Komarti plates resemble closely those of the plates of Nandivarman II Śālaṅkāyana, and that, therefore, "the two Canḍavarman must have belonged to the same period." But it is difficult to go beyond that. There are some serious points against the identification of the issuer of the Komarti plates with the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Canḍavarman.

The Komarti plates were found near Narasannapeta in the Ganjam district. The grant was issued from *nijaya-Siṃhapura* which has been identified with modern Sīṅgupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta.¹ On the other hand, all the known Śālaṅkāyana grants were issued from Veṅgīpura which has been identified with Peddavegi near Ellore in the Godavari district and

¹ The name of Siṃhapura, the capital of the dynasty to which Canḍavarman belonged, and the names ending in *-varman* appear to support a conjecture that these Varman of Kaliṅga originally came from the Siṃhapura-śāyā (Yuan Chwang's "kingdom of *Seng-ke-pu-to*;" Beal, *Seng-ke*, I, pp. 143-4) in the Punjab. The Lakṣmīmaṇḍalī inscription of about the "end of the 7th century" refers to twelve princes of Siṃhapura, whose names end in *-varman* (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 12 ff.). This Siṃhapura in the Punjab seems to have been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, II, 20, 20, in connection with Arjuna's victories in the Northern countries.

which appears to have been the chief city of the Śālaṅkāyanas as early as the time of Ptolemy.

It must be noted that Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti grant calls himself Kaliṅgādhipati (lord of Kaliṅga); but no Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja so far known claims mastery over the Kaliṅga country. The issuers of all the Śālaṅkāyana grants invariably call themselves *Śālaṅkāyana* and also *Bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta*, i.e., favoured¹ by the feet of lord Citrarathasvāmin who must have been the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It must also be noticed that both these distinctive epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Komarti grant.

Besides, the phraseology of the Komarti grant seems to be different from that of the known Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions. Two points at least deserve notice in this connection. First, the king of the Komarti grant calls himself *Śrī-mahārāja(ja)-Caṇḍavarmā*, while all the issuers of the Śālaṅkāyana grants invariably call themselves *Mahārāja-śrī-so-and-so*. Secondly, the phrase *ā-sahasrāmśu-śaśi-tārakā-pratiṣṭha* used as an adjective of *agrahāra*, and the idea conveyed by it, are unknown to the phraseology of the known Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions which, we should note, are marked by a striking similarity of language among themselves.

Such being the case, we must take the issuer of the Komarti plates as belonging to a separate dynasty, until further evidence is forthcoming.² It seems probable that the dynasty to which Caṇḍavarman of the Komarti grant belongs ruled over the Kaliṅga country (or the major part of it) with its capital at Siṃhapura, when the Śālaṅkāyanas

¹ For this new interpretation of the word *anudhyāta*, see *infra*.

² Prof. Dubreuil has rightly separated the two dynasties in his *Ann. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 29 and 35. Another record issued from *viṣṇu-Siṃhapura* in the fourth year of evidently the same *Kaliṅgādhipati* Caṇḍavarman has been recently discovered (*Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.E., 1934-35, p. 64).

ruled over the country to the west of the Kaliṅga region with their capital at Veṅgīpura. The country of the Śālaṅkāyanas was the heart of what is called Andhradeśa in Sanskrit literature. In the inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas, it has been designated Veṅgīmaṇḍala, Veṅgīrāṣṭra, Veṅgīmaḥ and the like. Probably the country was called "the Veṅgī kingdom" even in the Śālaṅkāyana period.

Another king of the dynasty of Siṃhapura seems to have been the issuer of the Brihatprostha grant (issued from vijaya-Sihapura, i.e., Siṃhapura), edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 4 ff. The name of the king who issued this grant has been taken to be Umavarman. According to Hultzsch, "both the alphabet and the phraseology of the grant closely resemble those of the Komarti plates of Mahārāja Caṇḍavarman. This king may have belonged to the same family as the Mahārāj-omavarman.....For both kings issued their edicts from Siṃhapura (or Sihapura) and bore the epithets 'lord of Kaliṅga' and 'devoted to the feet of (his) father.'"¹

The characters of the Komarti grant closely resemble those of another inscription, the Chicacole grant of Nanda-² Prabhañjanavarman. The two phraseological peculiarities

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 4. Hultzsch is not quite accurate in the last point. Caṇḍavarman is called *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaṭṭa*, while Umavarman is called *Bappa-pāda-bhaṭṭa* in the inscription. The Tekkal record issued from vijaya-Vardhamānapura seems to be dated in the ninth year of this king Umavarman (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 53 f.). I do not think that the Tekkal grant belongs to a different king. A third record of Umavarman is the Dhavalapeta grant issued from Banagara (*ibid.*, pp. X, 143-44).

² *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 48 f. The name so long taken by scholars as Nanda-prabhañjanavarman probably signifies Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family. For a reference to the Nanda or Nandodbhava dynasty in the Kaliṅga region, see the Talmol plates of the Nanda Vāśiṣṭhīga-Dhruvāmunda of the year 216 B. C. (*J. S.*, XIV, p. 90 ff.). The date if referred to the Harṣa era would correspond to A. D. 89. These Nandas or Nandodbhavas appear to have claimed descent from the mighty Nanda who ruled at Pāṭaliputra before the Mauryas. It may be interesting in this connection to note that a certain Nandārā is referred to in the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, king of Kāṭiṅga (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 79 f., lines 6 and 10). If the king may be identified with Prabhañjanavarman, "the moon of the Vāsiṣṭhīfamily," we are to believe that he was connected with the Vāsiṣṭhis on his mother's side.

of the Komarti grant noticed above are present in the Chicacole grant. We may therefore agree with Hultzsch when he says, "The phraseology of the grant resembles that of the copper-plate grants of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga, but still much more closely with that of the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Another point in which the last mentioned plates agree with the Komarti plates is that in both of them the title *Kaliṅgādhipati*, i.e., 'lord (of the country) of Kalinga' is applied to the reigning prince. There remains a third point which proves that Chaṇḍavarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman must have belonged to the same dynasty. An examination of the original seal of the Chicacole plates, which Mr. Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, kindly sent me at my request, revealed the fact that the legend on the seal is *Pi[ṭṛi-bhaktā]*, just as on the seal of the Komarti plates."¹ The Chicacole grant was, however, not issued from Siṃhapura or Sihapura, but from *vijaya-Sārapallikā-vāsaka*, "the residence or palace (or camp?) at the victorious Sārapallikā." It is not clear whether Sārapallikā was the capital of the Kaliṅgādhipati Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman; but the explicit mention of the term *vāsaka* (residence, dwelling) probably suggests that it was not the permanent capital of his family.²

The Koroshandra plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 23 ff.) of the same age record the grant of a village called Tampoyaka in Korāsoḍaka-Pañcālī by a Mahārāja named Viśakhavarman. It is known from the Chicacole grant of Indravarmaṇ (*Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 122 ff.) that this Korāsoḍaka-Pañcālī formed a part of the Kalinga country. G. Ramadas therefore thinks that Viśakhavarman was a Kaliṅgādhipati like Chaṇḍavarman and Umavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 24).

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 143.

² The term *vāsaka* and the similar term *śāśadhāśāstra* sometimes appear to mean "the temporary residence (therefore, the temporary capital) of a king." See *supra*.

The grant however was issued from Śrīpura which has been identified with Siripuram in the Vizagapatam district.

On palaeographic grounds, these kings should be assigned to about the time of Nandivarman II Śālanākāyana, i.e., about the 5th century A.D.¹ It is, therefore, impossible to agree with the late Prof. R. D. Banerji when he writes,² "We do not know anything of the history of Kalinga and Orissa after the fall of the dynasty of Kharavela (2nd century B.C. according to the Professor) till the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the 7th century A.D."

It is difficult to determine whether this line of the kings of Kalinga was ruling at the time of the southern expedition of Samudragupta (c. 350 A.D.). It is, however, interesting to note that the Allahabad pillar inscription does not refer to any king of Kalinga, nor of Simhapura, Śārappalikā and Śrīpura. The states mentioned there, that may be conjecturally assigned to the Kalinga region, are Kurāla, Kottūra, Piṣṭapura, Eraṇḍapalla, Avamukta and Deva-rāṣṭra. Of these Piṣṭapura has been definitely identified with Piṣṭapuram in the Godavari district. That it was the seat of a Government in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., is proved by the passage *piṣṭam piṣṭapuram yena* in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II.³ We have got an inscription of a *Kaling-adhipati* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman of the Māṭhara family(?) who granted from Piṣṭapura the village of Rākaluva in the Kalinga-viṣaya (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 1 ff.). Rākaluva has been identified with Rāgolu, the findspot of the copper-plates, near Chicacole in the Ganjam district. The characters of the inscription seem to resemble those of the Veṅḡi and Simhapura inscriptions, and may, therefore, be assigned

¹ Prof. Dubreuil places them a little later, *loc. cit.*

² *History of Orissa*, I, ch. VIII (Kalinga and Orissa in the Scythian and Gupta periods), p. 109.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff.

to about the 5th century A.D. But the phraseology is remarkably different from that of the inscriptions of the Simhapura line. It therefore may be conjectured that Śaktivarman belonged to a separate line or branch line, that of Piṣṭapura, which was probably supplanted by the Calukyas in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The epithet *kaliṅgādhipati* seems to suggest that the claim of *kaliṅgādhipatitva* of one of the two rival lines of Piṣṭapura and Simhapura was, at one time, challenged by the other.¹

Another grant (Arch. Surv. Ind., A. R., 1934-35, pp. 64-65) mentions a Kaliṅgādhipati named Anantavarman whose *adhīṣṭhāna* (capital) was Piṣṭapura and who was the son of Prabhañjanavarman, "the moon of the Vasiṣṭha family," and the grandson of Guṇavarman, lord of Devarāṣṭra (mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and in the Kasimkota grant of Cālukya-Bhīma I and identified with the Yellamanchili area of the Vizagapatam district).²

The names of the other states mentioned above cannot be satisfactorily identified. It does not appear quite unreasonable to think that after the downfall of the Ceta dynasty to which the great Khāravela belonged, Kalinga became split up into a number of petty principalities and that the same state continued as late as the time of Samudragupta's invasion. The history of Kalinga about the 5th century A.D. was possibly marked by the rivalry between the royal houses of Piṣṭapura and Simhapura for the supreme authority over Kalinga. The line of

¹ A recently discovered grant is known to have been issued from *viṣṇu-Śaṅghapura* in the 38th year of a lord of Kalinga named Anantakṣitivarman, who belonged to the Mādhava family (Arch. Surv. Ind., A.R. 1934-35, p. 66). He was possibly identical with Śaktivarman or was one of the latter's immediate successors. *Deśakṣapataśāhikīya, tālanara* Arjunadatta of this grant may be the same as *Amātya* Arjunadatta of the grant of Śaktivarman.

² Besides these "lords of Kalinga" there is reference in the *Śaṅkhaśaṅkha* (p. 18 p. Ind., XIII p. 304), to an unnamed "lord of Cikura." This "lord of Cikura," according to Prof. Debrenil, was "probably not a king of Kalinga but only a simple feudatory" (Anc. Hist. Dec., p. 94).

Simpapura was possibly overthrown by the Gangas about the of the 6th century A.D.¹

In conclusion let me refer summarily to the four grants of the kings of Sarabhapura (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1878-1881). These grants are assigned to the 8th century A.D., but may be a little earlier. The above four inscriptions, all issued from Sarabhapura, have been found in C. P.; but, according to Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 108), Sarabhapura may probably be identical with the modern village of Sarabhavaram, in the Obojavaram division, ten miles east from the bank of the Godavari and twenty miles from Rajahmundry. L. P. Pandeya has described (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 595) a coin belonging to the Sarabhapura kings whom he takes to be feudatories of the Pāṇḍava kings of Kosala. If the identification of Sten Konow is correct we have another royal family in the Kalinga country, the earlier members of which family may have ruled about the end of the 6th century.

¹ Curiously enough we find a line of kings, with names ending in -varman ruling over parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal in about the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. The ancestors of these "Varmanas"—as they style themselves in their inscriptions—are said to have once occupied Simpapura. Cf. *varmānān* = 'tigobhīrānāma dadhatah ālāghya bhūjan bhūkrato bhūjūh simpapuram guhān = ira sargendranām hara = bhāndharāh. Relava grant of Bhojavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 67), son of Sāmlavarman, grandson of Jātavarman and great-grandson of Vajravarman. The Bengal Varmanas, like the Varmanas of the Lakkhamandal inscription, trace their descent from Yada. Evidently they claim connection with the Yādavas (cf. *hara* = bhāndharāh in the passage quoted above). It is possible that a second branch of the Punjab Varmanas migrated into Bengal. It may also be conjectured that the Varmanas of Kalinga when they were displaced from Simpapura (by the Eastern Gangas?), marched towards the east and carved out a principality somewhere in South or South-East Bengal. They appear to have supplanted the Candra dynasty of Eastern Bengal possibly after it was shaken by the defeat of "Gorīśāndra of Vajrāśāleśa," inflicted by that Indian Napoleon, Gaṅgallakṣya Rācendra Cola I, in about 1023 A. D.

III

THE TERM *Śālaṅkāyana* AND THE RELIGION OF THE ŚĀLAṂKĪYANAS.

The word *Śālaṅkāyana*, according to the Sanskrit lexicons *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and *Medinī*, means *Nandin*, the famous attendant or *rāhana* of Śiva. It is interesting to note that the figure of a bull (i.e., *Nandin*) is found on the seals of the *Śālaṅkāyana* kings, whose copper-plate grants have so far been discovered (*vide infra*). It is therefore not quite impossible that the Bull crest (and banner ?) of the *Śālaṅkāyana* kings was connected with the name of their family.

Fleet, while editing the Kollair plates, suggested that the term *Śālaṅkāyana* signifies the *Śālaṅkāyana*-gotra. Though the *Śālaṅkāyana* kings are never called *Śālaṅkāyana*-sagotra according to the fashion in which gotras are referred to in early South Indian inscriptions, the theory of Fleet cannot be dismissed as impossible. There are, however, more than one gotra of the name of *Śālaṅkāyana*, and it is not possible to find out to which one of these gotras our kings belonged. There is one gotra called *Śālaṅkāyana* which belongs to the *Viśvāmītra* section and has the *pravaras* *Vaiśvāmītra*, *Kātya* and *Ātkīla*. But the word *Śālaṅkāyana* used in the Ellore grant of *Devavarman* seems to be the Prakrit form of *Śālaṅkāyana* which is the spelling used in all the other grants of the family. There are however four *gotraṇīs* named *Śālaṅkāyana*. The first of them belongs to the *Bhṛgu* section and has the *pravaras* *Bhārgava*, *Vaitahavya* and *Sāvedasa*. The second belongs to the *Bharadvāja* section and has the *pravaras*

Āṅgīrasa, Bārhasputya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya and Gārgya. The third belongs to the Viśvāmitra section and has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala; the fourth also belongs to the Viśvāmitra section, but has the *pravaras* Vaiśvāmitra, Śālaṅkāyana and Kauśika (see P. C. Rao, *Gotra-nibandha-kadambam*, Mysore).

We know very little of the early history of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It has been supposed (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 23) that the terms Śālaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (country of the Śālaṅkāyanas) are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. It is however certain that the Śālaṅkāyanas (Greek: Salakēnoi) ruled over the Veṅgī region as early as the time of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.).

We have already said above that the seals of the Śālaṅkāyana kings bear the figure of a bull which is probably to be identified with Nandin. This fact and names like Nandivarman (one whose protector is Nandin) and Skandavarman (one whose protector is Skanda, son of Śiva) in the family possibly show that the family religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was Śaivism. It must also be noticed that all the Śālaṅkāyana kings, in their inscriptions, call themselves *Bhagavac-citrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta*, i.e., favoured by the feet of Lord Citrarathasvāmin. Citrarathasvāmin is evidently the name of the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas of Veṅgī which, as already noticed, has been identified with the village of Peddavegi near Ellore in the Godavari district. In this connection we must notice what Hultzsch said (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 51): "The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a mound which on a visit to Pedda-Vegi in 1902 was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Citrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas."

The word *Citraratha* according to Sanskrit lexicons means the Sun. K. V. Lakshmana Rao therefore suggest-

ed that Citrarathasvāmin mentioned in the Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions was the Sun-god. It however appears to me that, as the family religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was in all probability Śaivism, Citrarathasvāmin might possibly be a form of Lord Śiva.

It must be noticed here that while in the inscriptions king Devavarman has been called *parama-māhessara*, king Nandivarman II is called *parama-bhāgavata*. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, who believes that the religion of the Śālaṅkāyanas was Śaivism, says (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 25) : " Because this epithet (*scil. parama-māhēśvara*) was changed into that of *parama-bhāgavata* by the successors of this king (*scil. Devavarman*), we need not infer that the later Śālaṅkāyanas changed their Śaiva faith and became Vaiṣṇavas. *Bhāgavata* did not necessarily mean in those days a worshipper of Viṣṇu, and the followers of Śiva also were called *Bhāgavatas*. We have the authority of the venerable Patañjali (on Paṇini V. 2. 1) for the usage of the word *Siva-Bhāgavata*."

It is difficult to agree with Lakshmana Rao. In all the three inscriptions of Nandivarman II, the king is unanimously called *parama-bhāgavata*, which in its general sense suggests that the king was a devotee of Bhagavān Viṣṇu. It must be noticed that no other Śālaṅkāyana king is as yet known to have used this epithet. Moreover, we know from the Peddavegi plates that Nandivarman II granted no less than 32 *nicartanas* of land (95·2 acres according to Kauṭilya whose *nicartana* = 2·975 acres; but 23·4 acres according to a Commentator whose *nicartana* = ·743 acre; see *infra*) in order to make a *devahala* for the god Viṣṇugrha-svāmin, the lord of the three worlds. This *devahala* was cultivated by the local *vraja-pālakas* and the produce was evidently received by the authorities of the Viṣṇu-grha (temple of Viṣṇu). The word *devahala* appears to mean " ploughable lands, dedicated

for the enjoyment of a god." Cf. *craja-pālakānām kṛaṣṭum devahalaṁ=kṛtvā*; see below, pp. 114-95. This Viṣṇu-grha-svāmin (literally, lord of the temple of Viṣṇu) was evidently a form (*vigraha*) of Lord Viṣṇu. Dedication of lands in honour of Viṣṇugṛha-svāmin and the epithet *parama-bhāgavata* together leave hardly any doubt that the Śālanākāyana king Nandivarman II was a Vaiṣṇava.

IV

DEVAVAMMA (=DEVAVARMAN).

In the Ellore grant, the Śālaṅkāyana king Devavarman has been called a devotee of Maheśvara. He is also credited with the performance of an *āśvamedha* sacrifice (*assamedha-yājī*). He therefore seems to have been a prince of considerable importance. The performance of the *Āśvamedha* by Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana seems to speak of his success against the Pallavas who are known to have obtained possession of Andhrāpatha with its head-quarters at Dharmākaṣa.

In this connection it is necessary to discuss the view of K. V. Lakshmana Rao (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 24), who thus remarked on the epithet *āśvamedha-yājī* (performer of the horse-sacrifice) applied to Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman in the Ellore Prakrit plates : "I am of opinion that the boast of *Āśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) started with the Imperial Guptas, and the contagion spread to the minor dynasties like the Chedis (?Traikūṭakas), the Vākātakas, the Kadambas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and others. The proximity in the time of Vijaya Devavarman to Samudra Gupta's South Indian triumphal march, in my opinion explains the insertion of the word *assamedha-yājīnā* (1.5) in the grant of Vijaya Deva. He must have seen some of the Imperial grants with similar titles and coolly imitated them." My theory, however, is exactly opposite to what has been propounded by Lakshmana Rao.

The first point to notice here is that there is no reference to any titles like *āśvamedha-yājī* in the Gupta records. If, however, we take that the epithet of Devavarman is an

imitation of *cir-otsann-āśvamedh-āhartā* found in the Gupta inscriptions, we are to think that the Śālaṅkāyana king lived to see the records of Samudragupta's successors, because we do not get the epithet in his own inscriptions.

But we have already shown that this Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman is probably earlier than Samudragupta's contemporary Hastivarman of Veṅgī and, therefore, ruled before the Gupta emperor's southern expedition. As king Devavarman appears to have ruled in the first half of the 4th century A.D.,¹ it may be that the idea of performing the horse-sacrifice was borrowed not by the Śālaṅkāyanas from the Guptas, but by the Guptas from the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Whatever the value of this suggestion may be, I have no doubt that Samudragupta got the inspiration of performing the *āśvamedha* from his connection with Southern India which may rightly be called the land of Vedic customs. Even at the present time, South India represents Vedic rituals more truly and fanatically than Northern India. So we may think it was also in ancient times. In comparison with the number and variety of Vedic sacrifices performed by early South Indian rulers, like the Śātavāhana king² referred to in the Nanaghat inscription No. 1 (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, V, p. 60 ff.), the Ikṣvāku king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla I, the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I and the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman,³ the one *āśvamedha*

¹ He cannot be earlier than A.D. 300. Unlike the Śātavāhana and Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and like works in literary Prakṛit, his grant in almost all cases expresses compound consonants by more than one letter and contains the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. On linguistic grounds his reign is to be placed a little later than the accession of Śivaskandavarman (c. 300 A.D.), i.e., about 320-345. See my note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 498-502, and below.

² This Śātavāhana king who has been taken to be the same as Śātakarṣi, husband of Nāganikā, must have ruled before the Christian era.

³ Like all early Prakṛit inscriptions, the Ikṣvāku records generally express compound consonants by single letters. This fact seems to show that the Ikṣvāku kings are earlier than the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman whose grants in most cases express compound consonants by more than one letter and have passages in them written in Sanskrit, and the legend on whose seal is also written in Sanskrit. As the Ikṣvākus seem to have

performed by Gājāyana-Sarvatāta (c. 250 B.C. ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 795), the two by Puṣyamitra (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57) and the two¹ performed by the Gupta kings Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, are ridiculously insignificant. So, the South might well have been teacher of the North in this respect.

By the bye it may be said that the view of Lakshmanā Rao with reference to the *aśvamedha* of the Vākāṭakas is also untenable. The Vākāṭakas do not appear to have been inspired by the example set by Samudragupta. The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I who claims to have performed four *aśvamedhas*, along with *agniṣṭoma*, *āptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *śoḍaśī*, *atirātra*, *brhaspatiśara* and *sādyaskra* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 97), appears to be earlier than Samudragupta. We know that Prabhāvatīguptā, granddaughter of Samudragupta, was given in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, who was grandson's grandson of Pravarasena I. A chronological chart is given for easy reference.

Vākāṭaka	Gupta
Pravarasena I	
Gautamīputra	
Rudrasena I	Candragupta I (acc. 320 A.D.)
Prthivīsenā I	Samudragupta (c. 330-375)
Rudrasena II married Prabhāvatīguptā	
	daughter of Candragupta II (c. 375-414).

succeeded the Śātavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century. Śiśukaṇḍavarman can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 300; but he seems to have ruled before Kāśīkapala Viṣṇugupta who came in conflict with Samudragupta about the middle of the 4th century. See below.

¹ Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 68-69. The official Gupta records do not credit Samudragupta with the performance of many *aśvamedhas*. In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, however, he is called *aśvamedha-pātri* (performer of many horse-sacrifices). The boast seems to be unfounded. First, if Samudragupta performed more than one *aśvamedha*, his successors would have emphatically mentioned it in their official

It therefore appears that Rudrasena I Vākātaka was a contemporary of Samudragupta's father Candragupta I who began to reign in 320 A.D.¹ It is not impossible that the beginning of the reign of Pravarasena I, grandfather of Rudrasena I, fell in the ninth or tenth decade of the 3rd century A.D. So, if any was the borrower, it was the Guptas, and not the Vākātakas. Pravarasena I could, however, have got the inspiration from his relatives, the Bhāraṣīvas, who have been credited with the performance of ten *āśvamedha* sacrifices.²

records. The Gupta kings after Samudragupta cannot be called reserved with reference to boasts. As has been noticed by Prof. Raychaudhuri (Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind., 3rd ed., p. 314), even the epithet *vir-ātman-āśvamedh-āharta*, applied by them to Samudragupta, is an exaggeration. Secondly, there appear to be some mistakes in the grants of Prabhāvatī (J.A.S.B., N. S., XX, p. 53; Ep. Ind., XV, p. 41). Here Ghaṭotkaca has been called the *śūti-rāja* (first king) of the Gupta family, while the official Gupta records begin the line from Mahārāja Gupta. The passage *gupt-śūti-rāja-mahārāja-tri-ghaṭotkaca* (Ep. Ind., XV, p. 41) has, however, been translated by Messrs. Pathak and Dikshit as "Ghaṭotkaca, who had Gupta as the first." That the word *gupt-śūti-rāja* is an instance of the *ṣoṭṭhi-tatpara* compound, and not of the *Bahuvrīhi*, is clear from the Riddhapur plates (J.A.S.B., N. S., XX, p. 59), where we have *guptānām-śūti-rāja*, which only means "the first king of the Guptas." Thirdly, in these inscriptions, Candragupta I has the simple title Mahārāja, while in the records of his successors he is always styled Mahārājāśhirāja; even Samudragupta is called Mahārāja in the Riddhapur plates. Fourthly, some attributes such as *sarva-rāj-accetā*, applied to Samudragupta in the Gupta records are here applied to Candragupta II. These appear to prove that references to the Guptas in the Vākātaka records were not very carefully drawn.

Moreover, as has been noticed by Andrzej Gawronski (Festschrift, Ernst Windisch, 1914, p. 170) and Dikkar (Ann. Rhod. Or. Res. Inst., VII pp. 164-65), Samudragupta performed the *āśvamedha* late in life, i.e., after the engraving of the Allahabad pillar inscription which does not make mention of any such sacrifice. It is, therefore, doubtful whether Samudragupta had time to perform *one* *āśvamedha*.

¹ "The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I" (Smith, R. Hist. Ind., 4th ed., p. 290). Recently attempts have been made by several scholars to prove that the Gupta era started in A.D. 260, 272 or B.C. 57. The theories are however not convincing. See Ind. Cult., III, p. 47 ff.

² Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 96. That this Pravarasena I was earlier than Samudragupta can also be proved from the evidence of the *Paṇḍya*. The *Paṇḍya* which do not mention any Gupta king by name and which limit Gupta rule within the area—*anugunaga prapṇḍa*—*ca śāketa-magadāhṇa*—*tathā* (Vāya, ch. 99,

The Ellore plates, dated on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the 13th year of Devavarman and issued from Veṅgīpura, record the gift of 20 *nirartanas* of land in Elura (Ellore in the Godavari district) to the Brāhmaṇa Gaṇasārman of the Bābhura (Bābhru) gotra. The Brāhmaṇa was also given a house-site for himself and others for his *addhiya-manussas* ("men who receive half the crop"; *addhikā* of the Hirahadagalli grant; Sanskrit *ārdhika*; cf. *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, I, 166) and *dvārgas* (doorkeepers). He was exempted from all taxes, and protection of the immunities was ordered by the king.

The exact meaning of *Muḍa* in the passage *elure muḍa-pamukhā gāma bhānitāro* (villagers of Elura headed by *Muḍa* should be informed) is not clear. The same word evidently occurs in some other Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions, where it has been differently read as *mutyāda*, *manuḍa*, etc. The word, which seems to be *mutuda* or *muluḍa* on some plates, possibly means "the head of a village." Fleet's interpretation of *mutyāda* (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 176) as "ministers and others" (*mantri + ādi*) is certainly untenable.

The seal of king Devavarman attached to the Ellore plates is, according to Hultzsch, "all but obliterated; but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen" (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 57). The figure is, in all probability, that of a bull, which is found on the seals of the other two Śālaṅkāyana kings.

verse 9830, not only mention Vinthyaśakti and his son Pravira (doubtless, Pravara-sena II, but also refer to the performance of some *vājepeya* (according to one MS. *vājapedha*) sacrifice by the latter. Cf.

*vinthyaśakti-sutad = c = āya Pravira nāma śirpādān
bhakṣanti ca samāh gāṣṭiṣa pūṣiṣa Kāṭṭanokā = ca ro
pāṣṭanti vājepeya = ca samāpta-sara-dakṣiṇāḥ.*

Vāya Par. (Bāḡabāṣī ed.), Ch. 99, 871-72.

For fuller details, see my paper, *Sauvāṇṇapada's Atamādha Sacrifice*, in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII (July, 1934), p. 85 ff.

HASTIVARMAN, NANDIVARMAN I AND CANDAVARMAN.

As we have seen, the names of the Śālaṅkāyana kings Hastivarman and Nandivarman I are found only in the Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II. The name of Candavarman is found in the Peddavegi and Kollair plates. Since we have no grants issued by any of these three kings, very little is so far known about them.

In the Peddavegi plates Mahārāja Hastivarman is called *aneka-samar-ācāpta-vijaya* (one who attained victory in many battles). It may be noticed here that the Allahabad pillar inscription, which refers to the conflict between Samudragupta and king Hastivarman of Vengī, speaks of the different natures of the North Indian and South Indian expeditions of the Gupta monarch. While he is said to have "uprooted" the kings of Aryavarta, he is said to have followed a policy of "capture and liberation" with regard to the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha. It is therefore certain that the Gupta emperor was not so lucky as regards his southern expedition, and it may not be impossible that the reference to the victory in *aneka-samara* of the Śālaṅkāyana king includes also his *samara* with Samudragupta.

The epithet *pratāp-opanata-sāmanta* applied to king Candavarman may suggest that he was not quite a petty chief and that some subordinate rulers acknowledged his suzerainty.

VI

NANDIVARMAN II.

The Śālaṅkāyana king Candavarman was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son (*sūnur=jyaishtha*) Nandivarman II. As we have seen, this king has been called *paramabhāgarata* in all his inscriptions. Evidently he was a Vaiṣṇava and gave up the traditional Śaivism of the Śālaṅkāyana kings.

Three copper-plate grants of this king have so far been discovered. They were all issued from Veṅgīpura.

I. The Kanteru plates (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V. p. 21) record a notice of the king to the Mutuda and the villagers of Kuruvāḍa¹ in the Kudrāhāra-*viṣaya*. It is notified hereby that twelve *nirartanas* of land in the said village were granted, for the increase of the king's *dharma*, *yaśaś*, *kula* and *gotra*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Svāmidatta who belonged to the Maudgalya *gotra*.

The Kudrāhāra-*viṣaya*, which is possibly the same as Kudūrahāra of the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, has been identified, as we have said above, with "the country adjoining the modern town of Masulipatam (Bandar)" (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 85). This region was formerly occupied by the Brhatphalāyanas.

The seal attached to the Kanteru plates has, in relief, the figure of a bull in couching position (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 21).

II. The Kollair plates (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 176), issued on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the 7th regnal year, record another notice of the king to the

¹ *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1925-27, p. 73, reads Kurukṣāṭṭa and identifies it with Kurukṣāṭṭa in the Gudivāḍa taluka of the Kistna district.

Mutuda and villagers of Videnūrapallikā-grāma, situated in the same Kudrahāra-viṣaya (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. p. 58 n). The village is hereby granted to 157 Brāhmanas of different gotras, who were then resident at the *agrahāra* of Kuravaka-Śrīvara. The village was to be treated with immunities from all taxations, and the immunities were to be preserved by the *deśādhipatis*, *āyuktakas*, *vallabhas* and *rāja-puruṣas*. This inscription is important as it furnishes us with a sidelight into the Śālaṅkāyana administrative system. From the official designations mentioned with reference to the protection of the *purihāras*, it appears that the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom was divided into several *deśas* (provinces), which were governed by the *deśādhipatis*. *Āyuktas* are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as "restoring the wealth of the various kings, conquered by the strength of his arm" (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. p. 14). An *āyukta* is mentioned as a *viṣayapati* (head of a province or district) in an inscription of Bodhagupta (*Ep. Ind.*, XV. p. 138). According to the lexicographer Hemacandra an *āyukta* is the same as the *niyogin*, *karmasaciva* (*cf. karmasaciva-matisaciva*; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. p. 44) and *vyāpṛta*. We know from the Kondamudi plates (*above*, p. 42) that a *vyāpṛta* was in charge of an *āhāra* (district). It therefore seems that the term *āyukta* also signifies ruler of a district. The term *vallabha*, according to Amara, means *adhyakṣa*, which has been explained by the commentator as *gar-adhyakṣa* (see *Śabda-kalpadrūma*, s.v.). *Vallabha* therefore appears to be the same as *go-dhyakṣa* (superintendent of cows) mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.¹ The *rāja-puruṣas* (royal agents) are also found

¹ It must however be noticed in this connection that the Hiraṇyagiri grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, I. p. 284) makes mention of *vallāsa* and *go-vallāsa* in the same passage and evidently makes a distinction between the two terms. According to Sanskrit lexicons, *vallāsa* means *gope*, a cowherd. But the other word *go-vallāsa* certainly means a cowherd and appears to be the same as *vallāsa* and *vallabha* of Sanskrit lexicons. What is then the meaning of the term

mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* (see Samasastry's ed., pp. 59, 75). They appear to be the same as the *pulisas* of the inscriptions of Aśoka (e.g., in Separate Kalinga R.E. No. 1).

The *ājāpti* or executor of the grant was the Bhojaka of Mulaku.¹ The term *bhojaka* (lit. enjoyer) has been taken to mean "free-holder." The Bhojokas appear to have been like the Jāgirdārs of the Muslim period. *Bhoja*, according to the Mahābhārata, means persons who were not entitled to use the title "king" (*Arājā bhoja-śabdaṁ tvam tatra prāpsyasi sāncayaḥ*; Ādi., 84, 22). According to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 32; VIII, 6, 12, 14, 16-17), *bhoja* was the title of South Indian kings. The term *bhojaka*, in a degraded sense, may therefore, mean a *jāgirdār* or a protected chief. In some inscriptions, the Bhojakas are mentioned along with the Rāṣṭrikas (probably the same as the Deśādhipatis), e.g., *raṣṭhika-bhojaka* in the Hatūgumpha inscription of Khāravela.

III. The Peddavegi plates (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I. p. 92) issued on the first day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the 10th year of the reign of king Nandivarman II, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman, grandson of Nandivarman I, and great-grandson of Hastivarman, record a notice of the king to the mutuda (or mutuda) and the villagers of Prālura-grāma. The king is said to have hereby granted a *deva-hala* to Viṣṇu-grha-svāmin, lord of the three worlds. *Deva-hala* is evidently the same as *devabhoga-hala* of the passage *devabhogahala-varjṇam* which is so common in the Pallava grants and has been translated

rallāsa in the Hiraṇyagallī grant.² Curiously enough, the word *rallāsa* according to the lexicographer Jājādhara is a synonym of *śara-rāṣa*, i.e., keeper of horses. The passage *rallāsa* (= *rallāsa*) of Jājādhara's glosses of the Hiraṇyagallī grant therefore appears to mean "the keepers of horses and the keepers of cows." See below.

¹ Fleet's translation (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 177) of the passage: *tatr-ājāpti(r)-śaṅkaḥ bhojakā* as "the remnant confers the enjoyment of the original royal dues there" should now be given up.

by Hultzsch as "with the exception of cultivated lands enjoyed by temples" (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 165). Fleet translated (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 157 and note) the same passage as "with the exception of the plough of the possession of the god," and remarked, "The meaning would seem to be that the grant did not carry with it the right to some cultivated land in the same village which had already been given to the village-god." A similar word is *bhikṣu-hala* (*bhikṣu-hala*, i.e., cultivated land offered to the Buddhist monks) which occurs in the Nasik cave inscription No. 3 and a Karle cave inscription, and has been ably explained by Senart (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 66). These technical words signified religious donations along with certain privileges (*parihāras*). The *deva-hala* granted by Nandivarman II was to be cultivated by the *vraja-pālakas* (herdsmen) and comprised 10 *nivartanas* of land at Arutōra, 10 *nivartanas* at Muṇḍūra-grāma, 6 *nivartanas* at Ceñceruva-grāma and 6 *nivartanas* at Kamburāñceruva. Muṇḍūra and Kamburāñceruva have been identified respectively with Muṇḍūru and Kominera in the Ellore taluka of the Kistna district. Ceñceruva is probably the same as Cincināḍa in the Narasapura taluka and Arutōra may be identified with Allidodḍhi in the Gudivāda taluka of the same district (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 74).

The *deśādhipatis*, *āyuktakas*, *callabhas* and *rājapuruṣas* were ordered to protect the grant. The executor of the grant was the Bhojaka of Mulakūra, possibly the same as that of the Kollair plates. The grant was written by a *rāhasyādhikṛta* (Privy Councillor; cf. *maṭi-sarica* of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44 ff., line 17), whose name was Kāṭikūri.

VII

SKANDAVARMAN.

Only one inscription of king Skandavarman has so far been discovered. It is the Kaneru grant, issued from Vengī and dated on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the 1st year of the king's reign. It records a royal notice to the villagers of Kuṇḍuhāra-Cinnapura.¹ It is hereby declared that the said village was granted to Śivārya of the Maudgalya gotra, a resident of Lekumāri-grāma. This grāma has been identified with Lokamudi in the Kaikalur taluka of the Kistna district.² All the officers including the *āyuktakas* and the *viṣayapatīs* were ordered to make it immune from all taxations (*sarva-niyoga-niyukt-āyo(yu)ktaka-viṣayapatīmīśraiḥ sāmālikā parihartavyā*). The mention of the *viṣayapati* in this connection possibly shows that the *deśas* or provinces of the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom were further subdivided into *viṣayas* (districts), each of which was under a *viṣayapati*. The *āyuktakas* appear to have ruled the subdivisions (*āhāras* ?) of the *viṣayas*.

We do not definitely know whether Kuṇḍuhāra is the same as Kudrāhāra and whether Kuṇḍuhāra-Cinnapura means "Cinnapura in Kuṇḍuhāra." Cinnapura has been identified with the present village of Cinnapuram in the Bandar taluka (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, pp. 25-26).

According to Lakshmana Rao there is the figure of a bull on the seal of Skandavarman, attached to the Kaneru plates.

¹ *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 73 reads Cinnapura.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

CHAPTER V. THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.

I

GENEALOGY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.¹

The history of the Viṣṇukunḍins has been touched by scholars like Kielborn, Hultzsch and many others. The author of the present work holds an altogether different view as regards the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty. The question of genealogy shall be discussed in the present and that of chronology in the next section.

The first known inscription of the Viṣṇukunḍins is the Chikkulla plates edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 193 ff. These plates give us the following line of kings :—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ; his son
2. Vikramendravarman (I) ; his son
3. Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman ; his eldest son
4. Mahārāja Vikramendravarman (II) ; (10th year).

Then come the Ramatirtham plates, edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 133 ff. Here we have the following line :—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ; his son
2. Rājā Vikramendra ; his son
3. Rājā Indravarman ; (27th year).

There can hardly be any doubt that Rājā Indravarman of the Ramatirtham plates is identical with Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Chikkulla plates.

¹ My paper on the Viṣṇukunḍin genealogy was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 273 ff.

Next we have two sets of copper-plate grants belonging to this dynasty, which were found at a place called Ipur in the Tenali taluka of the Guntur district. They were edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. In the first set of these plates (*ibid*, p. 334), we have the following line :—

1. Mahārāja Govindavarman ; his son
2. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (37th year) ; his son
3. Maṇeyanna-bhaṭṭāraka.

Hultzsch, on grounds of palaeography, identified Mādhavavarman of the first set of the Ipur plates with the king of the same name in the Ramatirtham and Chikkulla plates. It can be easily shown that later writers, who have disapproved of this identification as unwarranted, are themselves wrong. The epitheta applied to the name of this king, as found in the Chikkulla, Ramatirtham and Ipur (set I) plates, clearly establish the identity. Let us here quote the corresponding passages of the three inscriptions.

1. Chikkulla plates :— *Ekādaś-āśvamedh-ārabhṛt(th)-āvalhanta-jagad(i)-kalmaṣasya kratu-sahasra-yājina[h] sarva-medh-āvāpta-sarvabhūta-svārājyasya bahusuvarūpa-paṇḍarīka-puruṣamedha - vājapeya-yu d h y a-ṣ o ḍ a ś ī-rājāsūya - prādhirājya - [prā]]āpaty-ādy-aneka-vividha-prṛthu-guru-vara-śata-sahasra-yājina[*h] kratuvar-ānuṣṭhāt-ādhiṣṭhā-pratiṣṭhita-parameṣṭhitvasya mahārājasya sakala-jagan-maṇḍala-vimala-guru-pri(pr)thu-kṣitipati-makuṭa-maṇi-ga[ṇa-ni]kar-āvanata-pāda-yugalasya mādhave-varmmana[h].*

2. Ramatirtham plates :— *Sakala-mahī-maṇḍal-āvanata-sāmantā-makuṭa-maṇi-kiraṇ-āvaliḍha-carapa-yugo vikhyāta-yaśāḥ śrīman-mahārāja-mādhavavarmanā tasya = orjitaśrī-viṣṇukunḍi-pārtthiv-odit-odit-ānvaya-tilaka-[ś a m n d b h ū t a i]kādaś-āśvamedh-ārabhṛta(tha)-vidhanta-jag a t-k a l m a ṣ a-kratu-sahasra-[yā]jinaḥ snāna-punyodaka-pavitrīkṛta-ārasah.*

3. Ipur plates (set I):—Smṛti-mati-bala-satva(ttva)-
dhaiṛyya-vīryya-vinaya-sampannaḥ sakala-mahīmaṇḍala-
manujapati-pratipūjita-śāśanaḥ(°nas =) trivara-nagara-
bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanah sva-[na]ya-bala-vijita-
sakala-sāmant-ātula-bala-vinaya-naya-niyama-satva(ttva)-
sampannaḥ sakala-jagad-avanipati-pratipūjita-śāśanaḥ-(°no=)
agniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāji-hi[* ra]jyagarbbha-prasūta(h) ekādaś-
āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-vidhūta-jagat-kalmaṣaḥ sasti(sthi)ra-
karma-mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmanā.

When we remember the fact that no other Viṣṇukunḍin king is as yet known to have performed a single sacrifice of any kind except the one named Mādhavavarman, and when we note further the unique numbers—ELEVEN āśvamedhas and THOUSAND agniṣṭomas (*kratus*), testified to by all the above three inscriptions, there remains no doubt as regards the correctness of the identification originally proposed by Hultsch.

The second set of the Ipur plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 334) gives us the following line of kings:—

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I); his son
2. Devavarman; his son
3. Mādhavavarman (II); (17th ? year).

As regards Mādhavavarman (II), the issuer of this set of the Ipur plates, Hultsch says: "As the alphabet of the inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceding one (*scil.* Ipur plates: set I), and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarman II was the grandfather of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman, who would then have to be designated Mādhavavarman III." A consideration of the evidence of the two sets of the Ipur plates render this theory untenable. It is to be noted that Mādhavavarman (I), the grandfather of the issuer of the Ipur plates (set II) is described in that inscription as *ekādaś-āśvamedh-*

ārabhṛth-āvadhūta-jagat-kalmaṣasy = āgniṣṭoma-sahasra-yājino = 'neka sāmanta-makūṭa-kūṭa-maṇi-khacita-carana-yugala-kamalasya mahārājasya śrī-mādhavavarmanah. We request our readers to compare this passage with the corresponding passage quoted above from the Ipur plates (set I). Can there be any doubt whatsoever about the identity of this Mādhavavarman (I) with the king of the same name of the Ipur plates (set I), and also of the Chikkulla and the Ramatirtham plates? It is highly improbable that two kings of the same name and dynasty and of the same period performed exactly equal numbers—ELEVEN and THOUSAND—of sacrifices, such as the aśvamedha and the agniṣṭoma. We, therefore, think it perfectly justifiable to identify the king named Mādhavavarman, who has been credited with the performance of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas (*kratus*) in all the different Viṣṇukunḍin inscriptions.

Moreover, the theory of Hultzsch that Mādhavavarman (whom he is inclined to designate Mādhavavarman III), son of Govindavarman of the Ipur plates (set I), is the grandson of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), has now been disproved by the discovery of the Polamuru plates wherein Mādhavavarman, son of Govindavarman, is represented as the grandson of Vikramabendra, and not of a king entitled Mādhavavarman.

The Polamuru plates, edited¹ in the *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17ff., give us the following line of kings:—

1. Vikramabendra; his son
2. Govindavarman; his son
3. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (40th ? year).

¹ Previously edited by K. V. Lakshmana Rao in *Journ. Dept. Let., Calcutta University*, Vol. XI, p. 31 ff.

That this Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates can be no other than the famous performer of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas is proved by his significant epithets : — atula - bala - parākṛ ama - yaśo - dāna - vinaya - sampanno daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇīṭala-narapatir = avasita-vividha-divyas = trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yu v ati-ja na - vi ha ra ṇa - ratir = anna(na)nya-nṛpatisādhārāṇa-dāna-māna-dayā-dama-dhṛti-mati-ksānti-śoriy(śa u r y)-a u d ā r y a - gāṃbhi(bhī)ryya-prabhṛty-aneka-guṇa-sampaj-janit a - r a ya - samutthita-bhūmaṇḍala-vyāpi-vipula-yaśoh(°śāh) *kratu-sahasra-yājī hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta(h) ekādaś-aśvamedh-ārabhṛtha-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaskah* *survabhūta-pari-rakṣaṇa-cuñcuḥ(r =) vidva[*d]dvija-guru-vṛddha-tapaṣvijaṇ-āśrayo mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmā.*¹

It appears, however, that Mādhavavarman and Govindavarman have respectively been called Janāśraya and Vikramāśraya in this inscription, and it may be argued that they are not identical with the kings of the same names of the Ipur plates (set I). But this doubt is unjustifiable in view of the fact that Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates is not only called son of Govindavarman and credited with the performance of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas, but is also called *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvatijana-viharaṇa - rāti* (*trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuṇati-hṛdaya-nandana* in the Ipur plates), which epithets we find only in his own Ipur plates (set I). There can therefore be no doubt that the Ipur plates (set I) and the Polamuru plates were issued by one and the same person.

In this connection, we must notice the view of some

¹ A Sanskrit inscription in archaic characters belonging to a Viṣṇukunḍin king named Mādhavavarman has been found on a marble pillar near the entrance of the Hāmalūṅgaśrī temple at Velpuru in the Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur district (*Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Sp.*, 1925-26, p. 29, No. 531).

scholars,¹ who have identified Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with the king of the same name of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates, and Vikramahendra of the Polamuru plates with Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates. We have noticed that only one king of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin family may be believed to have performed sacrifices, and, though there seems to be a little exaggeration in the inscription of one of his successors, in all the inscriptions of the dynasty, that king—Mādhavavarman (I), son of Govindavarman and father of Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I—has been credited with the performance of ELEVEN aśvamedhas and THOUSAND agniṣṭomas (*kratus*). As is also noted above, we think it almost impossible that there can be more than one Mādhavavarman, performer of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas, in the same family and the same period. But if we accept the above identifications we have three Mādhavavarman—I, II and III—all of whom were performers of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas!² Moreover, the identification of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with

¹ Sewall, following E. V. Lakshmana Rao, has given the following genealogy of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings in his *List* (1932), p. 494 :—

1. Mādhava I, c. A. D. 337-362.
2. Devavarman, c. 362-407.
3. Mādhava II, c. 407-444. (Ipur grant No. 2)
4. Vikramendra I, c. 444-469.
5. Indrabhūṭāraka, c. 469-496. (Ramatirtham grant)
6. Vikramendra II, c. 496-521. (Chikkulla grant)
7. Govinda, c. 521-546.
8. Mādhava III, 'Janāśraya,' 546—(?) 610. (Polamuru grant and Ipur grant No. 1)
9. Maṇubhūṭa-bhūṭāraka (?) : 10—?

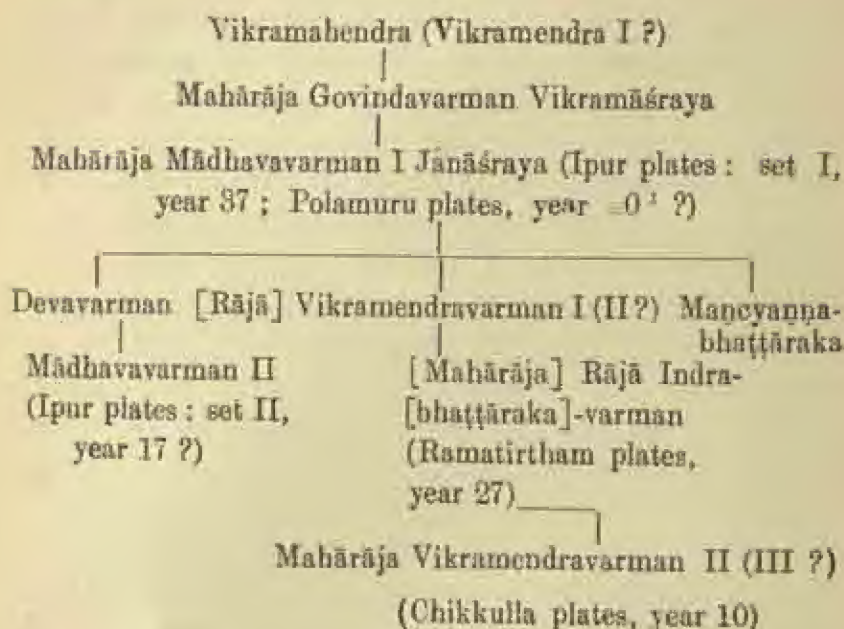
The absurd nature of this chronology is proved by the fact that about the middle of the 4th century not the Viṣṇukūṇḍins but the Śaśabhāyanas were ruling over the Vengi region. See my note in *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, XXV, pp. 299-301.

² See note 1 above. Curiously, a recent writer on the subject (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 198) thinks it to be "not a strong argument"

his namesake of the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates is, in my opinion, next to impossible. In the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates, we have the significant epithets of the great Mādhavavarman, crediting him with the performance of eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas; but these epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Ipur plates (set II) in connection with the name of Mādhavavarman II. The date of the plates, which is not fully legible but which appears to me to be year 17, has been read by Hultzsch as the 47th year of the king. Is it possible that a king, who performed among other sacrifices eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas, did not perform a single one of them before the 47th (if my reading is correct, 17th) year of his reign or forgot to refer to such glorious performances in his own inscription? It may also be significant that Mādhavavarman II has no royal title even in his own Ipur plates (set II). Moreover, the identification becomes utterly untenable when we notice that those significant epithets regarding the performance of 11 aśvamedhas and 1,000 agniṣṭomas have been attached in this inscription to the name of his grandfather Mādhavavarman I. We therefore hold that there were only two, and not three, Mādhavavarmans among the known kings of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin family and that the first of them, who was the grandfather of the second, performed a good many sacrifices including eleven aśvamedhas and thousand agniṣṭomas.

As regards the second identification, nothing need be said after our identification of Mādhavavarman I, the great performer of sacrifices. But it must be noticed that the name is written in the inscription as Vikramaheodra which may be the engraver's mistake for Vikramamahendra. II, however, we take it as a slip for Vikramendra, the king should be designated Vikramendra I, there being two other Vikramendras in the family.

The following is the genealogical arrangement of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin princes according to our theory :—



¹ There is only one numerical symbol on the plate. In *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Sec.*, VI (p. 17 ff., line 41), it has been deciphered as 48. It looks like a ligature of the symbol for 40 and that for 8; but as far as I know, there was no method known in ancient India by which a number like 48 could be expressed by one numerical symbol only. The symbol possibly signifies 40 (or 70 ?). It may however also be suggested that 8 was put below 40 for want of space to the right of the latter.

II

CHRONOLOGY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS.¹

We have already dealt with the genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings. Here we shall discuss the order of succession of the kings of this family and the period to which they are to be assigned.

The first known king of the dynasty is, as we have seen, Vikramahendra. Though he has been given no royal title in the Polamuru grant of his grandson Mādhavavarman I, his epithets *viṣṇukunḍinām* = *apratihata-śāsana* and *sra-pratāp-opanata-sāmanta-manujapati-maṇḍala* seem to prove that he was a king and had some feudatories under him. His son Govindavarman Vikramāśraya has been called Mahārāja in the Ipur plates (set I) of his son Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, the greatest of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings, appears to have had at least three sons, viz., Devavarman, Maṇcyanna-bhaṭṭāraka,² and Vikramendravarman I (born of a Vākāṭa, i.e., Vākāṭaka princess). Of these we know almost nothing about Maṇcyanna. Of the other two, viz., Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I, it

¹ My paper on the Viṣṇukunḍin chronology was originally published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, pp. 957-66.

² Maṇcyanna as a personal name is known to have been used in the Kanarese country in the 13th century A. D. As Prof. Raychaudhuri points out to me, Maṇcyanna was the name of a minister of Bijjala or Vijjala, the Kalyāṇa king of Kalyāṇa (1145-1157 A. D.). This minister was a rival of the king's other minister Basava (Bṛahma), the famous founder of the Viśiṣṭa or Liṅgāyat sect (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, pp. 78, 83, 129; and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt II, p. 47). Among minor instances, we may take Maṇcyanna, a Brāhmaṇa mentioned as receiving some gifts of land in an inscription of the Yādava king Śiṅghaṇa (1210-1247 A. D.) dated in Śaka camp. 1173 (C. P. No. 4 of 1925-26).

is known that their sons became kings. We have the Ipur plates (set II) of Devavarman's son Mādhavavarman II (see *infra*) and the Ramatirtham plates of Vikramendravarman (I)'s son Indravarman. Should we then suppose that after the death of Mādhavavarman I the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kingdom was split up into two divisions, ruled separately by his two sons, Devavarman and Vikramendravarman I? It however seems to me risky to suggest division of kingdom whenever we find two sons of a king or their descendants ruling. It may not be unreasonable to think that there was no such division of kingdom after the death of Mādhavavarman I.

Mādhavavarman I possibly died at a very old age. The date of the Polamuru grant of this king seems to be year 40 or, if K. V. Lakshmana Rao's reading is correct, year 48. It seems, therefore, not impossible that the elder children of Mādhavavarman I died before their father's death. In view of the fact that Devavarman, in the Ipur plates (set II) of his son Mādhavavarman II, has the only epithet *kṣatriy-āvashāṇḍa-pravarṭtī-āpratīma-vikhyāta-parākrama*, which can by no means suggest his accession to the throne, it appears that this son of Mādhavavarman I did not rule, but predeceased his father. Now, we are to determine whether Mādhavavarman I was succeeded by his son Vikramendravarman I or by his grandson Mādhavavarman II.

According to the Ipur plates (set I), Mādhavavarman I granted the village of Bilembali in the Guḍḍādi-viṣaya to Agniśarman, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa gotra. In the Ipur plates (set II), we notice the grant of a village, the name of which seems to me to be Murotukaliki, by Mādhavavarman II to two Brāhmaṇas named Agniśarman and Indraśarman. It is not impossible that Agniśarman of the first set is identical with his namesake who was one of the two recipients of the second set of the Ipur plates. In view of the above fact

and also the fact that Devavarman, who seems to have predeceased his father, was possibly an elder brother of Vikramendravarman I, Mādhavavarman II appears to have succeeded his grandfather on the throne (see *infra*). The date of his Ipur plates (set II) has been read by Hultzsch as [40]7, but he says: "The first figure of the year in the date portion is injured and uncertain" (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 338). The figure in question, however, seems to be 10 and, consequently, the date may be read as year 17.

Mādhavavarman II was possibly succeeded by his uncle Vikramendravarman I who appears to have been considerably aged at the time of his accession. We have as yet no copper-plate grant issued by this king. The duration of his rule cannot be determined. But if we grant a reign-period of about 25 years to each of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings a consideration of the regnal dates of the known kings of the family, seems to suggest not a very long reign-period of this king. "His reign was probably short" (Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 91).

The succession from Vikramendravarman I to Vikramendravarman II appears to be regularly from father to son. All these kings have royal titles in the inscriptions. We, however, cannot be definite as regards the number of Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings that ruled before Vikramabendra and after Vikramendravarman II.

We have now to consider the time of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings. Fortunately for us, the date of Mādhavavarman I can be determined with a certain degree of precision.

The Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman I record the grant of the village of Pulobūru in the Guddavādi viṣaya by the king in his 40th (or 48th) year as an *agrahāra* to Śivaśarman, a scholar of the Taittirīya school, belonging to the Gautama gotra, resident of Kuṇḍūra in Karmarāṣṭra, son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman. Next, we are to notice the contents of the Polamuru plates of the

Eastern Calukya king Jayasimha I (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 254 ff), who began to rule from c. 633 A.D. These plates record the gift of the village of Pulobūmra in the Guddavādi-*viṣaya* in the 5th year (15th year, according to *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10) of the king's reign to Rudraśarman, a scholar of the Taittirīya school, belonging to the Gautama gotra, resident of Asanapura-*sthāna*, son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. There can be no doubt that Pulobūru of the former inscription is identical with Pulobūmra of the latter, and that the village is to be identified with modern Polamuru (find-spot of both the inscriptions) near the Anaparti Railway station in the Godavari district. There can also be no doubt that Śivaśarman (son of Dāmaśarman), recipient of the grant of Mādhavavarman I, was the father of Rudraśarman (son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman), the recipient of the grant of Jayasimha I. In the latter grant, Rudraśarman is expressly called *pūre-āgrahārika*, "the former owner of the *agrohāra*." Now, how many years intervened between the date of the first grant and that of the second, that is to say, between the 40th (or 48th) year of Mādhavavarman I and the 5th year of Jayasimha I?

In considering this question, we are to note the following points. *Āgrahāras*¹ were generally granted to Brāhmanas when they returned from the *gurukula* after finishing studies, in order to help them in settling themselves as *gṛhasthas*. It may therefore be conjectured that Śivaśarman received Polamuru at about the age of 25 or 30² when king

¹ *Āgrahāra* means *gurukulād=āpṛta-brahmacārinḥ deṣam iṣṭirādi*. See Tārānātha's *Vācaspatya*, s. v.

² According to Manu III, 1-2, a Brahmacārin should study the Vedas (three Vedas, two Vedas or one Veda) in the *gurukula* for thirty-six years or for half or one-fourth of that period, and should then enter the *gṛhasth-āśrama*. The same authority however also says (IX, 94) that a man of thirty years of age should marry a girl of twelve and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa

Mādhavavarman was in the 40th (48th according to some) year of his reign. The king thus appears to have been old at the time of granting this *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa youth. Śivaśarman, however, certainly died before the date of the grant of Jayasiṃha I. The epithet *pura-āgrahārika* applied to the name of his son in Jayasiṃha (I)'s grant possibly goes to show that Rudraśarman, as successor of his father, enjoyed the *agrahāra* for some time before the 5th year of Jayasiṃha I, i.e., before c. 637 A. D. The most interesting point in this connection, however, is that Rudraśarman in Jayasiṃha (I)'s grant is called "resident of the town of Asanapura."¹ He is expected to have resided at Kuṅḷūra in Karṇarāṣṭra, the original place of his father or at Polamuru, the *agrahāra* granted to his father by king Mādhavavarman I. When we remember this change in residence and when we further see that Jayasiṃha I, at the time of the execution of the Polamuru grant, was stationed in a camp, *vijaya-skandhācāra*, it appears that in the early years of his reign, Jayasiṃha I led an expedition to the Viṣṇukunḍin country and encamped in the Guddavādiviṣaya, somewhere near Polamuru; that constant fights were going on between the forces of the Calukyas and those of the Viṣṇukunḍins; and that Rudraśarman, the *āgrahārika* of Polamuru, had to flee to the town of Asanapura (near Draksharama in the Godavari district) in this troubled period, but came after some time, when Jayasiṃha I was temporarily or permanently master of the whole of

on this verse has: *etac=ca yogyo-kala-prodostano-parṣṇa, na ta nigun-ārtham; prāgye=āstāntā kālēna yghita-veda bharaṭi. tribhāga-roṣaṭā ca kanyā roṣṭhar=guṇa yogy=eti; yghita-vedaṭ=c=opakarōṣaṭā yghasth-ātramam prati na vilambet=eti satpara=itany=ārthah. A story of the Chāndogya Upaniṣat (VI. 1-2) says that Svatakeṭa went to his guru at the age of twelve and returned home after finishing all the three Ṛ Vedaṣ at the age of twenty-four.*

¹ The Nidāpāra grant of Jayasiṃha I was issued from his rāṣṭra at Asanapura (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 66). The grandfather of the donor of a grant of Viṣṇu-vardhana. It is also known to have resided at Asanapura (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 192).

the Guddavādi-*viṣaya* or a considerable part of it.¹ Considering all these points, I think it not impossible that the difference between the time of the two Polamuru grants was about half a century.²

Then, the 40th (or 48th) year of Mādhavavarman I may be c. 637 A. D. (date of Jayasinha's grant) *minus* 50, that is, c. 587 A. D. Mādhavavarman I therefore seems to have

¹ The mastery of two different powers over two different parts of one district does not appear to be impossible. The Candras (cf. the Rampal grant of Śricandra; *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, No. 1) and the Varmanas (cf. Belava grant of Bhojavarmān; *ibid.*, No. 3), kings of South-Eastern Bengal granted lands in the Puṣṭravarḍhanabhukti, which has been presumably taken to be the same as the famous Puṣṭravarḍhanabhukti. But it seems impossible that the Candras and Varmanas were ever master of the Kojibera or Dinsajpur region of the Puṣṭravarḍhanabhukti. I therefore think that in the age of the later Pālas, the bhukti of Puṣṭravarḍhana was divided between the kings of Gauda and the kings of South-Eastern Bengal. The slight change in the name of the bhukti probably goes to confirm this suggestion.

² The difference between the time of the execution of these two grants may possibly be greater and, consequently, Mādhavavarman I might have ascended the Viṣṇukūṣṭha throne a little earlier. But I do not want to go far beyond the estimate of Mr. Subha Rao who suggests that the period may be about 40 years. This suggestion, however, seems to be invalidated by another suggestion of his. He takes Hastikola and Virakola, who were the executors of the grant of Jayasinha I, as personal names. We must notice here that the executors of the grant of Mādhavavarman I were also Hastikola and Virakola. If we think that these two persons were officers in charge of the Guddavādi-*viṣaya*, under Mādhavavarman I and also under Jayasinha I, the intervening period between the grants of the two kings should possibly be shorter than 40 years. We must however note in this connection that there were a Hastikola and a Virakola in the Tālapāka-*viṣaya*, who were ordered by king Prithivīnātha of the Godavari plates (*J. B. E. R. A. S.*, XVI, p. 144 ff.) to protect an *agrahara* in the same *viṣaya*. First, the editor of the Godavari plates, may be right when he says, "I do not know of any other mention of these two officials, who evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishment of elephants and heroes who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour." The epithet *mahāmātra-gaḥa* applied to Hastikola-Virakola in the Polamuru grant of Mādhavavarman I, seems to show that they were *Mahāmātra* of the Military Department. It may also be that the epithet *mahāmātra* goes with Hastikola and *gaḥa* with Virakola. The word *mahāmātra*, according to Monier, means *hastipāka-ādhipa* (head of the elephant-drivers or riders; cf. *ruḷgo-māhuta*). The word *gaḥa* generally means "a soldier." Hastikola and Virakola have been taken to be "officers in command of the elephant force and the infantry" in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 66.

ruled from about the end of the first half to about the end of the second half of the sixth century.

In connection with the period of Mādhavavarman I, we must also notice the passage of the Polamuru inscription, which records a grant made by the king when he was crossing the river Godāvari with a view to conquering the eastern region and another passage which refers to a lunar eclipse in the Phālgunī-Paurṇamāsī (i.e., the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna) as the occasion of the grant. The connection of Mādhavavarman I with the "eastern region" seems to indicate that he was possibly the *andhrādhipati* (lord of the Andhra country) who was defeated by the Maukhari king Īśānavarman according to the Harabha inscription of Vikrama Sam 611, i.e., A.D. 544 (*vide infra*). This synchronism also places Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin in the middle of the 6th century A.D.

We have just noticed that the village of Pulobūru was granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the Phālgunī Pūrṇimā. In the second half of the sixth century, lunar eclipses occurred in the above *tithi* on the following dates:

- (1) 11th February, 556 A. D.
- (2) 2nd March, 565 A.D.
- (3) 21st February, 574 A. D.
- (4) 11th February, 575 A. D.
- (5) 21st February, 593 A. D.
- (6) 10th February, 594 A.D.

Of these dates, years 593 and 594 may be tacitly rejected as they appear to be too late. But it is impossible at the present state of our knowledge to ascertain on which of the other four dates the grant was issued. If, however, we presume that the date of the Polamuru grant falls on any of these four dates and if further the reading of the date be accepted as 40, Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin certainly

began to reign sometime between 516 and 535 A.D.¹ The approximate chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings, then may be taken as follows :—

1. Rise of the Viṣṇukunḍin power in the 5th century A.D.²
2. Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I ?) c. 500-520 A.D.
3. Govindavarman c. 520-535 A.D.
4. Mādhavarman I c. 535-585 A.D.
5. Mādhavarman II c. 585-615 A.D.
6. Vikramendravarman I (II ?) c. 615-625 A.D.
7. Indra[bhattachāraka]varman c. 625-655 A.D.
8. Vikramendravarman II (III ?) c. 655-670 A.D.³
9. End of the dynasty possibly about the end of the 7th or somewhere in the 8th century A. D.

The period assigned to Indravarman, *viz.*, *circa* 625-655 A.D., is, I think, supported by some views expressed by

¹ Mādhavarman I married a Vākāṭaka princess and his descendants are represented as boasting of the Vākāṭaka connection. His date does not, therefore seem to be far removed from the glorious age of the Vākāṭakas, *viz.*, the 5th century A.D. Smith places this relative of the Vākāṭakas in about 500 A.D. (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 139.). It is true that Mādhavarman I is to be placed between the 5th century, the glorious period of the Vākāṭakas, and the 7th century, the age of Jayasimha I Eastern Calukya. It therefore seems probable that the reign of Mādhavarman I began in the first half of the 6th century A.D.

² It may be tempting to connect the Viṣṇukunḍins with the Viṅhukaḥa-Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi kings, whose inscriptions (see Lüders, *List. Nos.* 1021, 1186 and 1195) and coins (Bapson, *Catalogue*, p. 59) have been discovered. Viṅhukaḥa may possibly be taken to be the same as Viṅhukaḥa, *i.e.*, Viṣṇukunḍa which gives the name of the family whence our kings belonged. But a serious objection that can be raised in this connection is that the Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi who claimed to have belonged to the Mānava-gotra used metonymies, like Hārīpotta, along with their names like the Śātavāhana-Śātakarṇi's. The practice of using such metonymies and also of mentioning the gotra is found, though in a modified way, in the inscriptions of the Kelaubas and the Calukyas; but it is conspicuous by its absence in the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukunḍins. There is therefore no evidence at present to connect the Viṣṇukunḍins with the ancient Śātakarṇi kings.

³ According to Kielhorn, the Chikkula plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 103) should be palaeographically assigned to the 7th or 8th century A.D. For the 30 years allotted to Mādhavarman II, see *infra*.

Fleet in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, p. 116. While editing the Godavari plates of Prthivīmūla, Fleet said : " The *Adhirāja*¹ Indra, at whose request the grant was made, is mentioned as having fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Taking into consideration the locality (the Godavari district) from which the grant comes, and its approximate period as indicated by the palaeographical standard of the characters and the use of numerical symbols in the date, there can be no doubt that Indrabhaṭṭāraka is the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasimha I." According to many of the Eastern Chalukya grants, however, this Indrabhaṭṭāraka did not reign at all, though some grants assign a reign period of only 7 days to him. It is therefore highly improbable that Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari grant of Prthivīmūla was identical with the Eastern Chalukya of that name. Kielhorn rightly suggested that the reference to Indravarman Viṣṇukunḍin's fights with many *caturdantas* in the Chikkulla grant supports his identification with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 195 note). *Caturdanta* is properly the epithet of Indra's Airāvata, the elephant of the east. We are therefore justified in accepting the identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Godavari plates with the Viṣṇukunḍin king Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman.

Fleet further remarked : "And the figurative expression that the *Adhirāja* Indra, mounted upon the elephant *supratika* of the north-east quarter, overthrew the elephant *kumuda* of the south-east or southern quarter, shows that this attack upon the Eastern Chalukyas was made from

¹ The word *adhirāj*, according to the *Mahābhārata*, means the same thing as *anmrāj* and *ekamrartin* (*Saṁskṛtaśāstram*, s.v.). In later inscriptions however it is known to have denoted subordinate rulers. The Dhol inscription of Cālanāśa Prthivīdēva II mentions his feudatory *adhirāja* Kumārāpāla (*Bhandarkar's List*, No. 341). An *adhirāja* Bhoja is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgi*, V, verse 151.

the north-east of their kingdom of Veṅgī." The inscription of the Gaṅga king Indravarman referred to by Fleet are dated in the 128th and 146th year of the Gaṅga era, which "seems to have commenced in A. D. 496" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, App., p. 201, n. 1 ; *Ind. Ant.*, LXI, p. 237 f.).¹ The above Gaṅga inscriptions were, therefore, issued in circa 624 and 642 A.D. Consequently, the Gaṅga king Indravarman was a contemporary of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin Indra- or Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman (circa 625-655 A.D.).

As regards the possession of Veṅgī by the Eastern Calukyas in the middle of the seventh century A.D., it may be said that there is no conclusive proof of that supposition. From the Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff.), we learn that Pulakeśin II reduced the strong fortress of Piṣṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭapuram (Piṭṭapuram) in the Godavari district, near the sea-coast, about 80 miles to the north-east of Peddavegi; and he caused the leader of the Pallavas to shelter himself behind the ramparts of Kāñci, modern Conjeeveram about 40 miles to the south-west of Madras. Fleet says: "Probably during the campaign which included the conquest of Piṭṭapuram and which must have taken place at this time (i.e., A.D. 616 or 617), the Veṅgī country was made a part of the Chālukya dominions; and the reference to the Pallavas immediately after the mention of Piṣṭapura, has been understood as indicating that it was from their possession that Veṅgī was taken" (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 94 f.). After the publication of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin copper-plate grants, however, the theory of the Pallava occupation of Veṅgī in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. may be tacitly given up. Since Lendulūra, for some time the residence (*vāsaka*) of a Viṣṇukūṇḍin king, has been undisputedly identified with

¹ Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently suggested that the beginning of the Gaṅga era falls between 530 and 557 A.D. (*Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 171 ff.). Unfortunately, he has totally ignored the astronomical side of the question.

Deṇḍalūru, a village on the ruins of the ancient city of Veṅgī, 5 miles north-east of Ellore in the Godavari district, it is certain that the Veṅgī country passed from the hands of the Śālaṅkāyanas to the possession of the Viṣṇukunḍins.

It is interesting to notice a passage in the Aihole inscription dated in 634-35 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, *loc. cit.*) which describes Pulakeśin (II)'s southern campaign. Verse 28 of that famous inscription speaks of a piece of water, which appears to contain some islands that were occupied by Pulakeśin's forces. This piece of water has been called the Kaunāla water or the water (or lake) of Kunāla. The position of this Kunāla is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the inscription. Verse 26 tells us that Pulakeśin II subdued the Kaliṅgas and the Kośalas and then, according to the following verse, took the fortress of Piṣṭapura. After that is recorded the occupation of Kunāla (verse 28); this again is followed, in the next verse, by Pulakeśin's victory over the Pallava king near Kāñcī-pura. Verse 29 describes the Calukya king as crossing the river Kāverī, after which is described his contact with the Colas, Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas (verse 31). Kielhorn seems therefore perfectly reasonable when he says (*ibid.*, pp. 2-3). "Pulakeśin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shows that 'the water of Kunāla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Piṭhapuram, between the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunāla' given in the poem would be applicable even at the present day, and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island, which more than once has been the object of attack." Since the ruins of Veṅgī and Deṇḍalūru lie in the

vicinity of the Kolleru lake there can now hardly be any doubt that the 'water of Kunāla' (i.e., the Kolleru or Kollair lake) was, at the time of Pulakeśin (II)'s invasion, in the possession of the Viṣṇukundins and that the battle of Kunāla was fought between the Calukya king and a Viṣṇukundin ruler who was most probably either Mādhavavarman II or Vikramendravarman I, both of whom were weak successors of the great Madhavavarman I.

The theory now generally accepted is that Veṅgī was conquered by Pulakeśin II, during his campaign in the south-eastern region. There is, as I have already said, no conclusive evidence in support of this theory. In the records of the early Eastern Calukya kings there is no reference to the occupation of Veṅgī at all. The first use of the name of Veṅgī is in the inscriptions of the time of Amma I (918-925 A.D.) which call Vijayāditya II (c. 794-842 A.D.) *veṅg-śā*, and in the inscriptions of the time of Calukya Bhima II (934-945 A.D.), which contain the first explicit statement that the territory over which Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana and his successors ruled was the Veṅgī country (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 94). Both Amma I and Calukya Bhima II reigned in the tenth century A.D.; the evidence of their inscriptions as to the Calukya occupation of Veṅgī in the 7th century can, therefore, be reasonably doubted. The fact seems to be that the Viṣṇukundins of Veṅgī, from the time of the Calukya possession of Piṣṭapura, became weaker and weaker, and their country was gradually annexed to the waxing empire of the Eastern Calukyas. The formal annexation which took place possibly after the extinction of the Viṣṇukundins end of the 7th or (somewhere in the 8th century A.D. ?) seems to have been completed long before the tenth century A.D., i.e., the time of Amma I and Calukya Bhima II, when the Eastern Calukyas claimed that they were master of the Veṅgī country from the very beginning of their history. There appears therefore no

strong grounds against our theory that the Viṣṇukunḍins, though shorn of their past glory, were ruling for sometime at Veṅgī, contemporaneously with the Eastern Calukyas, who ruled first probably from Piṣṭapura,¹ next from Veṅgī² and then from Rājamahendri.³

We have to notice two other points before we conclude this section. Smith in his *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 441, says: "In the east he (*scil.* Pulakeśin II) made himself master of Veṅgī, between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī, and established his brother Kubja Viṣṇu-wardhana there as viceroy in A.D. 611 with his capital at the stronghold of Piṣṭapura, now Piṭhapuram in the Godavari district." Smith, here, professes to rely on the Koppuram plates of Pulakeśin II, edited by Lakshmana Rao in *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, IV, p. 43 ff. These plates, which are full of textual mistakes, seem to record

¹ It is to be noted that the Timmapuram grant of Viṣṇuwardhana I Viṣṇu-siddhi was issued from the *sāsaka* (literally, residence) of Piṣṭapura. We have suggested above that possibly the term *sāsaka*, like the term *skandhārā*, signifies temporary (or sometimes secondary) capital of a king. It is well known that Pulakeśin II crushed the power of the king of Piṣṭapura (*piṣṭam Piṣṭapuram* grant) and established his brother Kubja-Viṣṇu-wardhana on the throne of that place. At the time of Viṣṇuwardhana therefore Piṣṭapura could reasonably be looked upon as the *sāsaka* or *skandhārā* of this king.

² The *Veṅgīśa* (lord of Veṅgī) antagonists of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas appear to have been the Eastern Calukya kings (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 199). The earliest reference to a king of Veṅgī in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records appears to be that in an inscription dated 770 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 309). The Eastern Calukyas therefore seem to have occupied Veṅgī before the 9th century A.D. possibly before the second half of the 8th century, the time of Vijayāditya II and his father.

³ According to Sewall (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 94, note 6) there are two traditions regarding the origin of the name of Rājamahendri (modern Rājamundry) or Rājamahendrapuram. The first of these traditions connects the name with a Calukya king named "Vijayāditya Mahendra." This Vijayāditya Mahendra is apparently the Eastern Calukya king Amma II (A.D. 945-970) who had the epithet Rājamahendra and the surname Vijayāditya VI (*ibid.*, p. 270). Fleet (*ibid.*, pp. 93-94), however, takes the founder of, or the first Eastern Calukya king at, Rājamahendrapuram to be Amma I (918-925 A.D.), who no doubt had the epithet Rājamahendra, but whose surname was Viṣṇuwardhana (VI) and not Vijayāditya.

the grant of some lands in Karmarāṣṭra (northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur) by one Prthivī-Duvarāja in the presence of Pulakeśin II. The grant is dated in the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* 21. Hultsch while editing these plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, has shown that the inscription belongs to the 21st regnal year of Pulakeśin II, i.e., to about A. D. 629-30 and that Prthivī-Duvarāja is to be identified with his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, who is styled Prthivī-vallabha-Viṣṇuvardhana, Yuvarāja in the Satara grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 309). The word *duvarāja* is a Dravidian *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *yuvarāja*. Cf. *Akalankat-tuvarāyar* = Sanskrit *akalanka-yuvarāja* in the Amber ins.; *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 180, and *Tuvarāśan* = *yuvarāja* in the Kasakudi ins.; *S. Ind. Ins.*, II, No. 73.¹ Lakshmana Rao, however, thought that Duvarāja of this inscription is to be identified with Dbruvārāja of the Goa plates, and that the year 21 of his reign falls in A.D. 611.

But even if we accept 611 A.D. to be the date when Pulakeśin II invaded Karmarāṣṭra and defeated the Viṣṇukunḍin king, does it follow that Pulakeśin II conquered the whole of the kingdom of the Viṣṇukunḍins? Does the defeat of a king always lead to the loss of his entire territory? Pulakeśin II is known to have defeated the Pallava king, penetrated through the whole of the Pallava territory and crossed the Kaverī; but was the Pallava power weakened? Again, in 642 A.D., the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman defeated and killed Pulakeśin II and

¹ It is also interesting to note in this connection the name of the third king of the Calukya line of Kaljāpi. In many of the inscriptions it is given as Daśavarman, but it is also written (e.g., in the Kaithen grant; *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 16) as Yaśovarman. Fleet while noticing the point remarked, "The reason for the variation there is not apparent" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. II, p. 431). It seems to me that Daśavarman is an extended form of Daśavarman which is but the same as Yaśovarman.

took Vatāpi, the Calukya capital; but did the Calukya power permanently collapse? Did not the power of the Calukyas exist even during the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa usurpation?¹

Then again according to Bilhapa (*Vikramāṅkadeśacarita*, Intro., p. 44; *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 323) the Calukya emperor Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇi marched on and occupied Kāñci, the capital of the Colas (i.e., the Eastern Calukyas), and amused himself there for sometime before returning to his capital. "It is doubtless this campaign that led to there being so many inscriptions, referring themselves to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, at Drakṣarama and other places in the Telugu country, outside the ordinary limits of the Western Chalukya kingdom" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. II, p. 453, note L). But does this fact prove that Kāñci and the Telugu country were permanently occupied by the Calukyas of Kalyāṇi? Temporary success like this is possibly also shown in the grant of two villages near Talakāṇḍi, the Gaṅga capital in Mysore, by the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 146; Sewell, *List*, s. v. C. A.D. 500; Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 48).

To commemorate even the temporary occupation of part of a country, Indian kings appear to have used to grant there lands to Brāhmanas (see *Manusamhitā*, VII, verses 201-02), and generally, this sort of grants was acknowledged by other kings who followed the donor in the rule of that locality.² It may, therefore, be not altogether impossible that Pulakeśin II penetrated as far as Karmarūṣṭra, where the reigning Viṣṇukunḍin king was defeated, and the Calukya king felt himself justified in granting lands in

¹ *Vide* the Calukya genealogy as given, e.g., in the Kauthem grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 16). See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, p. II, p. 590 ff.

² Cf. *ara-dattam para-dattam cā pa harita vapamāharām*, etc., quoted in the copper-plate grants.

the district of which he thought himself to be master for the time being at least.¹

If these suggestions be accepted, there is then no difficulty as regards the discovery of Calukya grants, giving lands in places which were originally under the Viṣṇukunḍins. We however do not argue that all the Eastern Calukya kings who granted lands in the country once occupied by the Viṣṇukunḍins were temporary possessors of the land. It seems reasonable to believe that the Viṣṇukunḍin country gradually, not long after the invasion of Pulakeśin II, merged into the Eastern Calukya empire and gradually the Viṣṇukunḍins lost all their territories excepting the small district round their capital city of Veṅgī. The existence of Viṣṇukunḍin rule at Veṅgī in the 7th century may be compared with that of the Kadamba rule at Vaijayantī even in the glorious age of the early Calukyas of Bādāmi.

The next point is regarding the find-spot of the Ramatirtham plates of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Indravarman. The plates were found at a place near Vizianagram in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency. They record the grant of a village in the Plakirāṣṭra, which was evidently situated in the Vizagapatam district (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 91). On the evidence of the find of these plates, it may be suggested that the Vizianagram region was included in the Viṣṇukunḍin kingdom, that is to say, the Viṣṇukunḍin boundary extended as far as the borders of

¹ It is also possible that the time of Pulakeśin (II)'s expedition, the Karmarāṣṭra was occupied not by the Viṣṇukunḍins (but by a branch of the Pallavas?). In A.D. 609 the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the kingdom of An-to-lo (i.e., Andhra), which was a small district only 3,000 li (about 4,500 miles) in circuit. The capital was at Ping-ki-lo, which seems to be a mistake for Ping-ki-pu-lo, i.e., Veṅḡpura. The southern part of the Andhra country formed a separate kingdom called To-na-ki-tue-ki (Dhānyakaṭaka?) or Ta-An-to-lo (Makindra) with its capital possibly at Bezvāḍa, where the pilgrim resided for "many months". See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. 1933, pp. 600 ff., 608 ff. and 647.

the Ganjam district.¹ In view of the fact that there were the royal house of Piṣṭapura, the houses of the Varmans of Simhapura, Vardhamānapura, Sunagara, Śrīpura and Sārapallikā and also of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara whose era probably started from 496 A.D., permanent Viṣṇukunḍin occupation of the Vizianagram region seems to be highly improbable. The truth might have been that in retaliation to the raids of Pulakeśin II and Jayasimha I, Indravarman Viṣṇukunḍin invaded the Calukya country and penetrated as far as the Plakirāṣṭra, where he made grants of land, as did Pulakeśin II in Karmarāṣṭra, Jayasimha I in Guddavādi and Guḍrāhāra, and Vikramāditya VI in the Telugu country. The Plakirāṣṭra or Vizagapatam district seems to have been under the Eastern Calukyas as early as the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I. His Chipurupalle plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 15), dated in that year, were found in the Vizagapatam district. They evidently refer to the Plakiviṣaya, doubtfully read as Pūkiviṣaya by Burnell and Fleet. This Plakiviṣaya is evidently the same as Plakirāṣṭra of the Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman.

We have seen that the Godavari grant of Pṛthvivīmūla refers to a coalition of kings against Indrabhattārakavarman, who has been identified with the Viṣṇukunḍin king of that name. It seems to me that when Indravarman Viṣṇukunḍin defeated the Eastern Calukya forces and penetrated far into their country, Jayasimha I, who seems to have been the Eastern Calukya contemporary of Indravarman, formed an alliance with several other kings, one

¹ See, e.g., *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, XXV, p. 89. Kielhorn entered the Chikulla grant of Viṣṇukunḍin Vikramendrarvarman II in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (*Ep. Ind.*, V, App., No. 607). Following Kielhorn, D. H. Bhandarkar has also entered the Viṣṇukunḍin inscriptions in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (*Ep. Ind.*, XX-III, App., Nos. 1117 and 1588-90). The Śālikyans and Viṣṇukunḍin records must properly be entered into a *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, as these were local dynasties ruling over the Andhra country in the south.

of whom was *Adhirāja* Indra, identified by Fleet with the Gaṅga king Indravarman. The combined forces of these allied kings possibly defeated the Viṣṇukūṇḍin king and compelled him to return and shelter himself behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Veṅḡl.

III

VIKRAMAHENDRA (VIKRAMENDRA I?) AND GOVINDAVARMAN VIKRAMĪŚHAYA.

As we have already noticed, king Vikramahendra is mentioned only in the Polamuru grant of his grandson Mādhavavarman I. He is there described as favoured by (i.e., as a devotee of) Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin and is said to have subdued the feudatory chiefs by his own valour. The Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin is referred to in all the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukunḍin family and may, therefore, be taken to have been the family-deity of the Viṣṇukunḍins. Śrīparvata may be identified with Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency.¹ The original home of the Viṣṇukunḍin family may, therefore, be supposed to have been not very far from Śrīśaila. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, 193) suggested a connection of the name of the family with that of the hill-fort and town of Viṣṇukunḍa in the Kistna district, about 60 miles east of Śrīśaila and 50 miles south of the Krishna river. Viṣṇukunḍa, according to Kielhorn, was possibly the early home of the Viṣṇukunḍins.

The son and successor of Vikramahendra was Govindavarman. His surname Vikramāśraya and the epithet *aneka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-vijayin* possibly show that he was a king of considerable importance. He is said to have been obeyed by all the feudatory chiefs.

¹ Excepting the grant of Mādhavavarman II, which applies the epithet *bhagavac-chrīparvatārcāmī-pād-ānuhyāta* to the name of the issuer himself, all other Viṣṇukunḍin records apply the epithet to the first king (a predecessor of the issuer) with whose name the general gist of the inscriptions begin. In the records therefore king Vikramahendavarman I and his son and grandson are not themselves called 'favoured by (i.e., devotee of) Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin.' The celebrated temple of god Śiva, called Mallikārjuna, is situated on the northern plateau of the Nallamalai hills. Many Western Chalukya grants have been found in the Kurnool district which region appears to have passed to the Western Chalukyas before the middle of the 7th century.

IV

MĀDHAVAVARMAN I JANĀŚRAYA.

Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya appears to have been the greatest of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings.¹ The performance of 11 aśvamedhas, 1,000 agnistomas and some other rites including the Hiranyagarbha proves that he was a prince of power and resources. In very early times the aśvamedha was evidently performed by kings desirous of offspring (see Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *aśva*). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, viii, 2), king Daśaratha performed this sacrifice for progeny (*sut-ārthi cājimedhena kim=artham na yajāmy=aham*). Kings are also known to have performed aśvamedha for purifying themselves from sin. According to Viṣṇu, *aśvamedhena śudhyanti mahāpātakinas=tv=ime* (*Śabdakalpadrūma-parīṣiṣṭa*, s.v. *aśvamedha*). Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, ii) is said to have performed the horse-sacrifice with a view to purifying himself. But, as we have already noticed, it was performed only by a king who was a conqueror and a king of kings. Keith has rightly pointed out that the Aśvamedha "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Fed. Up.*, p. 343). The *Baudhāyana Śr. Sū.* (XV, i)

Lakshmana Rao (*Journ. Dept. Lit.*, XI, pp. 55-59) refers to several traditions that have grown on the glorious name of Mādhavavarman. A 13th century inscription in the Mallikarjuna-temple at Bezawāḍa gives an account about Mādhavavarman, king of Bezawāḍa in Śaka 117 (1), who, united his own name with death for killing a poor woman's son. A Bezawāḍa pillar inscription of the 16th century claims for a general of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara descent from Mādhavavarman of Bezawāḍa. A poem called *Srikrṣṇasajjanam* (c. 1540 A.D.) speaks of the migration into Telingana of four Raṣṭra tribes under the leadership of one Mādhavavarman in Śaka 514. This Mādhavavarman is claimed to be the ancestor of the family of the Mahārāṣa of Vizianagaram in the Vizianagaram district. The caste called Rāṣa or Rāṣkarār in the Telugu country also claims Mādhavavarman as progenitor.

Taittirīya Br. (III, 8, 9, 4; V, 4, 12, 3), *Āpastamba Śr. Sū.* (XX, I, i) and many other early texts prove beyond doubt that a feudatory ruler could not perform the *aśvamedha*.¹ A point of great interest, however, is that Mādhavavarman I claims to have performed as many as ELEVEN *aśvamedhas*, while successful conquerors like Samudragupta and Puṣyamitra are known to have performed only one or two *aśvamedhas*. Of course, from the description of the sacrifice given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, it appears that some *aśvamedhic* practices of the Vedic age may have been slightly modified in the epic period; but it is impossible to think that it became so easy as to be performed by even a king of the feudatory rank. It must be noticed that some Vedic kings are known to have performed a great number of *aśvamedhas*. Thus Bharata, son of Duṣyanta, according to a *gāthā* quoted in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (XIII, iii, 5, 11; Weber's edition, p. 994), performed as many as one hundred and thirty-three horse-sacrifices on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (*aṣṭāsaptatiṃ bhārato duṣyantir-yamunām=anu gaṅgāyām vṛtraghne=* 'badhnāt pañcapañcāśataṃ hayān=iti). According to another *gāthā* (*loc. cit.*, 13), Bharata performed more than a thousand *aśvamedhas* after conquering the whole earth (*paraḥsahasrān=indrāy=aśvamedhīm=ya=āharat=vijitya prthivīm saroām=iti*). The epics and Purāṇas however knew of traditions regarding some early kings trying to perform a hundred *aśvamedhas*, which would lead the performer to the attainment of the seat of Indra who is, therefore, represented as trying to prevent the hundredth sacrifice (see *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Ch. 78; *Raghu.*, III, 38-66; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV, 16, 24; 17, 4; etc.). May it be that the Vedic *aśvamedha* was less pompous than the epic *aśvamedha* and that the *aśvamedhas* performed by South Indian kings were of the Vedic type?

¹ See Keith, *Black Yajur*, pp. cxxiii-iv and Appendix below.

We have already noticed that the Deccan performs Vedic rites more fanatically than Northern India. See also my views in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40.

Mādhavavarman I married a girl of the Vākāṭaka family of Northern Deccan, and thus made his power secure in that direction.¹ According to V. A. Smith (*J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 137) the Vākāṭaka father-in-law of Mādhavavarman Viṣṇukunḍin was king Hariṣeṇa who claims to have conquered the Andhra and Kalinga countries. It is also believed that Mādhavavarman succeeded in getting the possession of the Veṅgī country by virtue of this Vākāṭaka alliance (Sewell, *List.*, s.v. A. D. 500). This suggestion is however untenable in view of the fact that Mādhavavarman I, though he was the greatest king, was not the first king of his dynasty, he being at least preceded by his father Govindavarman and grandfather Vikramahendra. The Polamuru grant calls him *daśasata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapati*² and credits him with an expedition for the conquest of the eastern region.

It must be noticed in this connection that, in the Haraha inscription dated A. D. 554, the Maukhari king Isānavarman claims victory over an *Andhr-ādhipati*. There can hardly be any doubt that this *Andhr-ādhipati* was a Viṣṇukunḍin king. Prof. Raychaudhuri (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 370) has taken this Andhra king to be Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates who according to this grant "crossed the river Godāvarī with a desire to conquer the

¹ Dr. D. C. Ganguly writes in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, p. 36: "Mādhavavarman I was the founder of this dynasty. His mother was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family." According to the Chikkuli plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 19), however, the Vākāṭaka princess was the mother of Vikramendravarman I, son of Mādhavavarman I. Cf. *Viṣṇukunḍi-rākāṭa-rasika-dasya-dāyā-dāyika-janmanah śrī-vikramendrarasamagaḥ*, etc. As we have shown, Mādhavavarman I was not the founder or the first king of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty.

Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma suggests to me that the epithet may possibly be translated as "lord of the Veṅgī Ten Thousand."

eastern region." This identification suits well the chronology we have accepted in these pages. It may not be impossible that the eastern expedition of Mādhavavarman I was undertaken in retaliation to his previous unsuccessful struggle with the Maukharis. This supposition is supported by the fact that a victory over the Andhras is alluded to in the Jaunpur Inscription of Īśvaravarman, father of Īśānavarman Maukhari (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 230).

In the Polamuru grant, Mādhavavarman I has been called *avasita-vividha-divya* (line 8). This passage has been left out in the translation of Mr. Subba Rao who has edited the inscription in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17 ff. The passage, however, appears to me very important in connection with the administration of justice in the Andhra country at the time of the Viṣṇukūṇḍins. Here is a clear evidence of the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kingdom. The word *divya*, here, certainly means "ordeal" and *vividha-divya* "various (forms of) ordeals." The verb *ava-so* has, among others, the meanings "to accomplish," "to know" and "to destroy." The passage *avasita-vividha-divya* may, therefore, mean, one "who has accomplished the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who has known (how to use) the various (forms of) ordeals," or "who has destroyed (i.e., abolished) the various forms of ordeals." We have seen that this Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukūṇḍin performed eleven Āśvamedhas and a thousand agniṣṭomas (*kr atus*). It must be noticed in this connection that no one except a fanatic can be expected to perform an āśvamedha sacrifice and expose his wives to such indecent and obnoxious practices as are necessary in the performance of this sacrifice. As for instance, the *mahiṣī* of the performer of the āśvamedha is required to lie down beside the sacrificial horse and to put the horse's penis into her own private parts (*cf. mahiṣī svayam = ev = āśva-sīśnam = akṛṣya sva-yonau sthāpayati*—Mabīdhara on Śukla-yajus,

XXXII, 18-25; and *aścasya śiśnaṃ mahiṣy = upasthe nidhatte : Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XII, iv, 2). Mādhavavarman I, performer of eleven *aśvamedhas*, thus appears to have been one of the most orthodox Hindu kings of ancient India.¹ It is, therefore, doubtful whether we can expect from him such a great reform as the abolition of the deep-rooted system of trial by ordeals, which is sanctioned by ancient law-givers and which was in use in our country as late as the end of the 18th century and possibly still later.² The last meaning is, therefore, less probable. The *divyas* or ordeals, which were used in ancient Indian courts in order to ascertain the truth of a statement, has been enumerated as nine in the *Divyatattva* of Bṛhaspati. They were ordeal (1) by balance, (2) by fire, (3) by water, (4) by poison, (5) by "image-washed" water, (6) by rice, (7) by the hot *māṣaka*, (8) by spear-head, and (9) by images. Cf.

*dhaṭo = gnir = udakañ = c = aiva viṣaṃ koṣaś = ca pañcamam
ṣaṣṭhañ = ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṃ saptaṃ tapta-māṣakam
aṣṭamaṃ phālam = ity = uktaṃ navamaṃ dharmajam smṛtam.*

For details see my paper on the *Divyas* in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VII, p. 195 ff. and Appendix below.

In both the Ipur and Polamuru grants the king is said to have been the delighter of the damsels residing

¹ In the Chikkulla grant of his great-grand-son, he is credited with a number of sacrifices among which is mentioned *paruṣamedha*. If this tradition is to be believed, Mādhavavarman I must have been an obominable fanatic.

² *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.* VII, p. 195 ff. Trial by ordeals is used to settle up disputes among some aboriginal tribes of the Andhra region even at the present day. Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, in course of his address on "Wider Parts of India" to the Rotary Club on March 9, 1934, said, "In disputes over land, the custom (in the East Godavari Agency) is to make the parties to the dispute walk round the land, and he who walks the whole way round continuously and eats some of the earth is declared to be the owner" (from Report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta). This system of trial was prevalent in the Marāṭhā country even at the time of the Peshwas, that is to say, as late as the 19th century A.D. (see S. N. Sen, *Administrative History of the Marāṭhas*, 2nd ed., p. 363 ff.)

in the houses of Trivaranagara. Trivaranagara appears to mean "the city of king Trivara."¹ A king named Trivara has been mentioned in the Kondedda grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 267) of the Sailodbhava king Dharimarāja, as having formed an alliance with a certain king named Mādhava and fought against Dharimarāja. It is possible that king Trivara of the Kondedda inscription is the same as that mentioned in the grants of Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin. Mādhavavarman I however does not appear to have lived at the time of Sailodbhava Dharimarāja and therefore can hardly be identical with Mādhava who fought against the Sailodbhava monarch. A king named Tivara is found in the line of the Pāṇḍavas of Kośala, who had their capital at Śrīpura (see the Rajin and Baloda grants, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 291 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 10 ff.). The charters and seals of Mahāśiva Tivara of Śrīpura are in the box-headed character. According to some scholars, the box-headed characters were in use in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 596). Fleet and Kielhorn, however, think that the inscriptions of Tivara of Kośala are not earlier than 700 A.D. (*Indische Palaeographie*, p. 63, note 20). According to Bühler (*ibid.*, p. 62), the Central Indian or "box-headed" type is found fully developed "in einer Inschrift Samudragupta's aus Eran und einer Chandragupta's II. aus Udayagiri, den Kupfertafeln der Könige von Śarabhapura, den Inschriften der Vākātaka; der des Tivara von Kośala und in zwei frühen Kadamba-Inschriften." The Gupta, Vākātaka and Kadamba records are definitely known to be earlier than 700 A.D. The same may be the case with the inscriptions of Tivara

¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. Lakshmana Rao identifies it with Tēwar in the Jabalpore district and considers it to have been the place of Mādhavavarman (I)'s father-in-law (*Journ. Dept. Let.*, XI, pp. 34, 39). The passage in question however seems to suggest his hostile relations with Trivaranagara rather than his marriage with a girl of that place.

of Kośala. It must be noticed in this connection that Fleet's and Kielhorn's view that the Vākātaka records date from the 7th century A.D. (*ibid*, note 19) has now been conclusively disproved.

The performance of Vedic sacrifices and the epithet *parama-brahmaṇya* (highly hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas) clearly show that Mādhavavarman I was a staunch follower of the Brahmanical faith.

I. The Ipur plates (set I) were issued on the 15th day of the 7th fortnight of summer in the 37th year¹ of the king, from the camp of Kuṇḍavāḍa (*vijaya-skandhāvārāt kuṇḍavāḍa-cāśakāt*). They record a notice to the inhabitants of Vilembali in the Guddādi-ṣaṣaya. The village was granted by the king to a Brāhmaṇa named Agniśarman belonging to the Vatsa gotra, and all royal officers were ordered to protect it and make it immune from taxation. The executor of the grant was the king's beloved son, Prince Maṇeṣyaṇṇa. The village of Vilembali and the Guddādi-ṣaṣaya have not been satisfactorily identified. Guddādi may be the same as Guddavādi-ṣaṣaya, i.e., the present Rāmachandrapur taluka. It is possibly not the same as the Guḍrāhāra-ṣaṣaya which is the district round Guḍivāḍa in the Kistna district.

The seal of king Mādhavavarman I attached to the plates is circular and somewhat worn. It is divided by a cross-line into two sections. The lower section bears in relief *Śrī-Mādhavavarmā* in two lines. Hultzsch thought that the upper section bears the figure of Lakṣmī or *śaśatika* on a pedestal, flanked by two lamp-stands and possibly surmounted by the sun and crescent of the moon (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 334). As on the seals attached to the Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates the figure of a lion is clearly visible, it may not be impossible that the obliterated part

¹ The old form of dating in the Viṣṇukūṇḍin records is probably due to local custom of the original home of the dynasty. See *infra*.

above the line contained the figure of a lion which was possibly the crest of the Viṣṇukunḍins.

II. The Polamuru grant¹ was issued by the king when he set out on the eastern expedition and was crossing the Godāvārī. By it the *mahattaras* and *adhikāra-puruṣas* were informed that the king made an *agrahāra* of the village of Pulobūru on the Dalīyavāvi river and of four *nīvartanas* of land at the southern extremity of Mayindavāṭakī, and granted it to the Gautama gotra Brāhmaṇa Śivaśarma, resident of Kuṇḍūra in Karmarāṣṭra. As Polamuru (Pulobūru of the inscription) is a village in the Ramchandrapur taluka of the Godavari district, the present taluka may be roughly identified with the Guddavādi-viṣaya in which the village is said to have been situated. Mayindavāṭakī has been identified with Mahendravāḍa adjacent to Polamuru, and Dalīyavāvi with the small stream Tulyabhāga now turned into a drainage canal. Kuṇḍūra may be the same as Koṇḍuru in the Sattanepalle taluka or Peda-Koṇḍuru in the Tanuku taluka of the Guntur district. As we have already seen, the village of Polamuru was re-granted to the recipient's son by the Eastern Calukya king Jayasimha I who probably conquered the region from the Viṣṇukunḍins.

In the Sanskrit lexicon *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *mahattara* has been called the same as *grāma-kūṭa*, "the head of a village" (cf. *rāṣṭra-kūṭa* "head of a *rāṣṭra*," an official designation in the Calukya inscriptions). Evidently, affairs in villages were controlled by them. The word *adhikāra-puruṣa* appears to mean "a *puruṣa* (agent) having an *adhikāra* (a post)," i.e., a government official cf. *na nīsprayojanam = adhikāravantaḥ prabhubhir = āhūyante : Mudrā-rākṣasa*, Act III. The mention of the *mahattaras* along with

¹ The language and orthography of this record are bad, and the characters are rude and late. The authenticity of the grant therefore may not be quite certain. But we are not definite, as sometimes we also get copies of older records. See also our remarks at p. 67 and notes above.

"government officials" possibly shows that the former were not salaried officers of the government.¹ The executors of the grant were the Hastikośa and Virakośa, which terms have already been discussed.

"It is believed that the seal (of the Polamuru plates) contains the figure of a lion, the crest of the Viṣṇukundins, and probably also the name of the royal donor" (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17).

¹ Cf. the case of *grāmika* in Mann, VII. 115-19; also below.

MĀDHAVAVARMA II.

Mādhavavarman II was the son of Devavarman and grandson of Mādhavavarman I. Only one copper-plate grant of this king has been discovered. It was found at Ipur, a village in the Tenali taluka of the Guntur district. The grant appears to have been issued on the 7th day of the 7th *pakṣa* of *varṣā* in the 17th (47th according to Hultzsch) regnal year,¹ from Amarapura which may probably be identified with the modern Amarāvati.

Mādhavavarman II has been described in this inscription as *trikūṭa-malay-ādhipati*, "lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya." We do not know of any other Malaya except the famous Malaya mountain, generally identified with the southern-most part of the Western Ghats. Trikūṭa is placed by Kālidāsa (*Raghu.*, IV, 58-59) in the Aparānta, i. e., Northern Koṅkan. It is, however, difficult at the present state of our knowledge to justify Mādhavavarman II's claim to be in possession of those countries. The epithet may show that the Viṣṇukunḍin king came into hostile relations with Trikūṭa and Malaya. He may have joined the armies of some powerful king who invaded those regions.² Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao appears to suggest that Mādhavavarman II was Viceroy at a place called Trikūṭamalaya which he is inclined to identify with Koṭappakonda near Narasaraopeta (*Bhārati* (Telugu), 1930, p. 414; *Journ.*

¹ It has recently been suggested in a paper read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference (1937) that the grant was issued in the reign of Mādhavavarman I.

² The Vākāṭaka kings Narendrasena and Harisena are said to have conquered Malaya and Trikūṭa respectively (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1700, 1712). But they appear to be considerably earlier than Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman II.

Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., X, p. 191). This is a happy suggestion ; but I could not examine his arguments in favour of the identification.

The plates record the grant of a village, the name of which seems to be Murotukoliki, to two Brāhmaṇas named Agniśarman and Indraśarman. In connection with the *śāsan-ājñā*, reference is made to the attention paid by the *viṣṇukunḍy-adhirāja* who may be Mādhavavarman II. If, however, it may be believed that Mādhavavarman II was a viceroy under his grandfather, this *adhirāja* should of course signify Mādhavavarman I.

The seal attached to the Ipur plates (set II), is circular and much worn. It is divided by a cross-line into two sections like the seal of the Ipur grant (No. I). In the lower section the legend *Śrī-Mādhava(varmma)* in two lines is very faintly visible, while the symbols in the upper section cannot be made out at all (*Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 338).

VI

VIKRAMENDRAVARMAN I (II?).

The next king appears to have been Vikramendravarman I, son of Mādhavavarman I. No inscription of this king has been discovered. The most interesting point about the king is that, in the Chikkulla plates of his grandson, he is called *viṣṇukunḍi-vākāṭa-vaṃśa-dvay-ālamkṛta-janmā*. Vākāṭa is evidently the same as Vākāṭaka, which was the most glorious dynasty ruling in Northern Deccan in the 5th century of the Christian era. The relation of Vikramendravarman I with the Vākāṭakas is also referred to in the Ramatirtham plates of his son, where he is called *ubhaya-vaṃś-ālamkārabhūta* (who is the ornament of both the dynasties).

"The Vākāṭakas were the neighbours of the Kadambas and the Vākāṭaka kingdom extended up to the modern town of Kurnool on the banks of the Krishṇā. We know that the famous temple of Śrīśailam or Śrī-parvata is in the Kurnool district, and 'a story, as related in the *Sthala-māhātmya* of the place, says that the princess Chandrāvati, a daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta, conceived a passion for the God on the Śrīśaila hill and began offering every day a garland of jasmine (*mallikā*) flowers to him' (*Report on Epigraphy* for 1914-1915, Part II, 91).

"In fact, we shall see that this dynasty (*scil.* that of the Viṣṇukunḍins) had for its tutelary deity the God of Śrī-parvata and that the first (?) king of this dynasty Mādhavavarman married a Viṣṇukunḍin (? Vākāṭaka) princess. I think there can be no doubt that this princess was the

daughter or grand-daughter of queen Prabhāvatī," the daughter of king Candragupta II and wife of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena (see Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 73-74). According to Vincent Smith (*J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 137) the mother of Viṣṇukunḍin Vikramendravarman I was the daughter of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa who claimed to have conquered the countries of Andhra and Kaliṅga.

VII

INDRAVARMAN.

The son and successor of Vikramendravarman I was Indravarman, to whom belong the plates discovered at a place called Ramatirtham in the vicinity of Vizianagram. The king has been described as *parama-māheśvara* (staunch devotee of Mahēśvara, i. e., Śiva) and *aneka-caturddanta-samarasata-sahasra-samghaṭṭa-vijayī*. The significance of the latter epithet may be understood from what has been already discussed above. It refers to the king's struggle with his eastern or north-eastern neighbours. In the Chikulla grant he is said to have made some *ghaṭikās*, which mean establishments (probably founded in most cases by kings) for holy and learned men. *Ghaṭikā* is mentioned in the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman and the Kasakudi grant of Nandivarman. It is the same as *Brahmapurī* of other records (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 26). In the same grant, Indravarman is also called *paramēśvara* and *bhrūbhaṅga-kara-vinirdhāta-samagra-dāyāda*. It is suggested that the latter epithet refers to his success against the viceregal line of Triakūṭa-malaya (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 191).

The Ramatirtham plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 133) which were issued from the Purapisaṅgamavāsaka (which possibly means the camp at the confluence of the river Parapī) on the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha in the 27th year of king Indravarman record the grant of the village of Peruvāṭaka in Pākīrāṣṭra as an *agrahāra* to a *taittiriyāka* Brāhmaṇa named Nagnaśarman who belonged to the Maṇḍira gotra.

The *agrahāra* was exempted from the burden of all taxes and the peasants assembled at Peruvātaka were ordered to give to the Brāhmaṇa the customary share of the produce of the *agrahāra* and to perform regularly all duties, such as conveying message, etc. The future owners of the country are also requested not to confiscate but to protect the *agrahāra*. The king himself was the executor of the grant. The nature of the grant appears to support our view that king Indravarman granted the *agrahāra*, while leading an expedition against his eastern enemies. Plakirāṣṭra, as we have already noticed, is the present Vizianagram region. It is mentioned as Plakiviṣaya and Paḷakiviṣaya in the inscriptions of Calukya Viṣṇuvardhana I (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 315).

The seal attached to the Ramatirtham plates shows the faint figure of an advancing lion facing the proper right, with its left forepaw raised, neck erect, mouth wide open, and the tail raised above the back and ended in a loop.

VIII

VIKRAMENDRAYARMAN II (III ?).

Indravarman was succeeded by his eldest son, Vikramendravarman II. A copper-plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 193) of this king was discovered at Chikkulla in the Tuni sub-division of the Godavari district. It was issued on the 5th day of the 8th *māsapakṣa* of *grīṣma* (?) in the 10th year of the king, from the Lendulūravāsaka which has been identified by Ramayya with modern Deṇḍalūru near Ellore.

King Vikramendravarman II, who was a *parama-māheśvara* like his father, hereby dedicated a village called Regonṛapa to Somagireśvaranātha in honour of the matted-haired, three-eyed God, the Lord of the three worlds. Somagireśvaranātha appears to have been the name applied to a *linga* established in a temple at Lendulūra.

The village of Regonṛapa is said to have been situated to the south of the village of Rāvireva on the bank of the Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā (Krishṇa)¹ in Natṛpaṭi which appears to be the name of a district.

The seal of Vikramendravarman II attached to the Chikkulla plates "bears in relief on a slightly countersunk surface a well-executed lion, which stands to the proper right, raises the right forepaw, opens the mouth and apparently has a double tail" (*loc. cit.*). It, however, seems to me that the tail of the lion is not double as Kielhorn takes it to be, but is only raised above the back so as to end in a loop. Compare the figure of the lion on the Ramatirtham plates of Indravarman.

¹ "Krishṇaveṇṇā, or more usually Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā or Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā, was the ancient epigraphic name of the Krishṇa, evidently taken from its confluence at Saṅgam-Mahuli, three miles east of Sāṭṭra, with the Veṇṇā or Vepā, one of its most important feeders" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I. ii, p. 231 n.). See p. 61 above.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY PALLAVAS.

I

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KĀNCĪ REGION.¹

The earliest reference to Kāncīpura (Conjeeverman in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency) seems to be that in the *Mahābhāṣya* (iv, 2 second *āhnika*) of the great grammarian Patañjali whose "date, B. C. 150, may now be relied upon" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 140). Patañjali is now generally taken to have been a contemporary of the first Śuṅga king, Puṣyamitra, who reigned from *circa* 185 to 149 B. C. according to Smith (*E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 208 ff.). The mention of Kāncīpura in the *Mahābhāṣya* goes to show that Kāncī became a place of importance as early as the beginning of the second century B. C. It is however not certain whether Kāncī was of political or commercial importance in the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

If traditions recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang are to be believed, Kāncī rose to prominence even earlier than the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*. This Chinese pilgrim tells us that he noticed a *stūpa* about hundred feet high, built by king Aśoka in the city of Kāncī (Beal, *Bud. Rec. West. World*, II, p. 230). In this connection we may also note the mention of Aśoka or Aśokavarman as one of the early Pallava kings in the mythical portion of the later Pallava inscriptions. Hultzsch appears to be right in taking this Aśoka or Aśokavarman as "a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka." The claim of having this great Maurya emperor as predecessor is to be found also in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the traditional history of Kashmir (i, 102-06). Though the genealogy of Aśoka given in the

¹ The paper was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 149-57.

Kashmir chronicle does not tally with the Maurya genealogy found in the *Purāṇas*, the description of the Kashmir king named Aśoka "who had freed from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina (i. e., Buddha), covered Suśkaletra and Vilastāra with numerous *stūpas*," clearly shows that he is no other than the great king of Pāṭaliputra. The inclusion of Maurya Aśoka in the traditional Pallava genealogy is therefore not impossible.

If however we take the find-spots of Aśokan inscriptions so far discovered in the far south as establishing the southernmost boundary of the Maurya empire in Aśoka's time, it would appear that the Kāncī region lay outside that empire. Nevertheless, if traditions recorded in early Tamil works are to be believed, the Maurya frontier at the time of Candragupta, grandfather of Aśoka, possibly extended far to the south of Kāncī. "We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district. In the time of Aśoka, the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennar river near Nellore, as the Tamil kingdoms are referred to as *prachamta* or border states and are clearly distinguished from the imperial dominions (*nijita* or *rāja-viśaya*) which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldrug district of Mysore" (Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 195). If then the Kāncī region was once under the Mauryas, it may not be altogether impossible that owing to the commercial importance of its position Kāncī attracted the notice of a Maurya emperor or a viceroy of the southernmost Maurya province, who assigned this Sanskritised name to a Dravidian original like Kacci (Kaccippedn) or Kañji.¹

¹ *Ramb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 318, note. At the time of Aśoka, the southernmost Maurya province had its headquarters at Suvasapattinā which has been identified by Bahuch with Kanakagiri in the Nizam's dominions to the south of Madri (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. xxxviii).

The exhaustive list of countries, mentioned in Gautamī Balaśrī's inscription, over which Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is said to have ruled, does not mention any district of the far south. This fact along with the conspicuous absence of inscriptions and coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the Andhra region possibly goes to show that the country was outside the kingdom of this Śātavāhana king. It must however be noticed that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi has been described in that famous Nasik Cave inscription as lord of the Vindhya, Ṛkṣavat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanhari), possibly Śrīśaila (*maca-siri-ṭana* = *Martya-śrī* or *Śrī-stana*?), Mahendra, Malaya, Seṭagiri and Cakora mountains. Malaya and Mahendra, quite well-known in Sanskrit literature, have been identified respectively with the Western Ghats (to the south of the Nilgiri) and the Eastern Ghats. If there is in the list really the name of Śrīśaila, it is to be found in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. Cakora has been mentioned along with Śrīśaila in the Purāṇas. It is therefore possible that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of southern India. Since there is no mention of the Himālaya, the list of mountains in Gautamīputra's kingdom does not appear to be altogether conventional. Another important point in this connection is the king's epithet *tri-samuda-loka-pīṭa-cāhana* which says that his war-horses drank water from the three seas. We are to notice that the inscription does not refer to the conventional *catah-samudra*, but only to *tri-samudra* (three seas) which evidently signifies the Western (Arabian) sea, Eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) and Southern sea (Indian Ocean). The traditional southern expedition of Maurya Candragupta and the southern expeditions of the Calukyas of Badāmi and Kalyāṇī, of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ and later of Śivāji and Haidar Ali show that it was almost a custom with great Deccan kings to lead expeditions to the far south. Is it impossible that

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's vague claim of suzerainty over the whole of Southern India originated from such a southern expedition ?¹

The Amaravati inscription of Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi (*Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, I, p. 100 ; pl. LVI, No. 1), Amaravati inscription of siri-Sivamaka-Śada (*ibid.*, p. 61, pl. LVI, No. 2), Ohinna inscription of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95), Kodavali inscription of Vāsisthīputra Cōḍa Sata (*ibid.*, XVIII, p. 316 ff.) and the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi (*ibid.*, XIV, p. 155) however clearly show that the successors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi certainly ruled in the Andhra region. This southerly extension of the Śātavāhana power may have been due to the rise of the house of Caṣṭana who seems to have established himself at Ujjayinī and to have been a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) and of the Śātavāhana king Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. We know from the Junagadh inscription (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 44 ff.) that Caṣṭana's grandson Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.), who for some time ruled conjointly with his grandfather,² was reigning over some of the countries that were formerly under the possession of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

The occupation of Andhradeśa and the adjoining districts by the later Śātavāhanas is also proved by numismatic evidence. According to Rapson (*Catalogue*, p. lxxi) the Śātavāhana coins found in the Kistna-Godavari region "fall into two classes distinguished from each other both by their type and their fabric." In the district of the first fabric,

¹ A Nasik inscription possibly refers to a southern expedition led by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who seems to have once encamped at Vallāyanti Vallāyanti which was later the capital of the Cuṣa Śātakarṇis and after them of the Kadambas has been identified with modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency (see *infra*).

² Harechaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 317 ff.

coins of the following five kings have been found (*ibid*, lxxii) :

1. Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi,
2. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi,
3. Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Candra Śāti.
4. Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi, and
5. śrī-Rudra Śātakarṇi.

In the district of the second fabric are found coins struck by the following three kings (*ibid*, p. lxxiv) :

1. śrī-Candra Śāti,
2. Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi, and
3. śrī-Rudra Śātakarṇi.

Some lead coins found in the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts have been taken by Rapson to have belonged to some feudatories of the Śātavāhana kings (*ibid*, pp. lxx-xi). This suggestion appears to be supported by the following facts. Firstly, in the Chitaldrug district has been found a coin of one Sadakana (Śātakarṇi) Kaḷalāya Mahārāṭhi who was most probably a feudatory of the great Śātavāhanas; secondly, the Myakadoni (Bellary district) inscription of Pulumāvi shows that the Bellary region was called the *janapada* (district) of Śātavāhanihāra, and that it was under the rule of a governor (*mahāsenāpati*) whose name was Skandanāga. This fact seems to show that the southern districts of the Śātavāhana kingdom were ruled by military chiefs.

From what has been said above it is perfectly clear that the dominions of the later Śātavāhanas extended as far as the borders of the district round Kāñcī. We shall now consider the question whether Kāñcī could have formed a part of the Śātavāhana kingdom.

There is no epigraphic evidence to prove that the Śātavāhana kings ruled over Kāñcī; but certain lead coins with

"ship with two masts" on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other have been discovered on the Coromandel coast between Madras and Cuddalore. "That they belong to the Andhra (Śātavāhana) dynasty seems certain from the Ujjain symbol which forms their reverse type, and from such traces as remains of the coin-legend. On the solitary specimen on which these traces admit of any probable restoration the inscription appears to be intended for *Siri-Pu[ḥumā]rīsa* (No. 95, p. 22; pl. V)."¹ Of course, mere discovery of some coins of a certain dynasty in a certain area may not prove that that particular area was under the direct control of the rulers of that dynasty. But this distinct type of ship-coins found exclusively in the Coromandel coast possibly supports the view that at least the issuer (or issuers) of the ship-coins had some sort of political supremacy over the coastal region. But who ruled the coast-country during the time of the later Śātavāhanas who most probably issued the ship-coins?

According to some scholars, "The coast-region in which these coins are found was in the third century B.C. inhabited by the Colas; but before the middle of the second century A.D. it seems to have passed into the power of the Pallavas who were thus contemporary with the later Andhras (i. e., Śātavāhanas)."² This view however can be proved to be unwarranted on the evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and the Geography of Ptolemy.

We may not expect to get the name of Kāñcīpura in the *Periplus* as this work does not attempt to give an exhaustive list of cities and towns of the countries about which it speaks. The Kāñcī region was possibly not a separate political unit in the age of this work (c. 80 A.D.). The *Periplus* says: "§ 59. From Komari (*mod.* Kumārikā) towards the south (actually toward NNE) this region extends to Kolkhi

¹ Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. ixxi-ii.

² *Ibid.*, p. ixxi.

(Karkai on the Tāmraparāī in the Tinnevely district; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 469).....; and it belongs to the Pandian kingdom. Beyond Kolkhi there follows another district called the Coast country (=Coromandel or Cola-maṇḍala coast), which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru (=Uragapura=mod. Uṛaiyūr near Tanjore).....§ 60. Among the market-towns of these countries and the harbours where the ships put in from Damirika and from the north, the most important are, in order as they lie, first Kamara, then Poduka, then Sopatma; in which there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirika; and other very large made of single logs bound together called *Sagara*; but those which make the voyage to Khryse and to the Ganges are called *Kolandia* and are very large." We do not definitely know whether any of these three ports mentioned by the *Periplus* belonged to the district of Kāñcī, but the fact that the *Periplus* after referring to the Coast country refers to Masalia (=district round Masulipatam) possibly suggests that the borders of the Coast country touched, in the age of the *Periplus*, those of the district round Masulipatam. This suggestion, it should be noticed, is in accord with the tradition which says that "the Chola country (Cholamandalam) was bounded on the north by the Pennar and on the south by the southern Vellaru river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Puddukottai, where it abutted on the Pāṇḍya territory" (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 480).

In the Geography of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) who gives a fairly exhaustive list of countries, cities and important places, we do not find the name of Kāñcī; but the district of Kāñcī can be satisfactorily identified from Ptolemy's map of India. The order of the position of countries in the east coast has been thus given in Ptolemy's Geography, VII, i:

1. Country of the Pandiones (=Pāṇḍyas) with its

capital at Modoura (= Madurā) $125^{\circ} 16^{\circ} 20'$, ruled by Pandion (§89);

2. District of Batoi (§90) with its metropolis at Nisamma $125^{\circ} 10' 10^{\circ} 30'$ (§12);

3. Coast of the Soringoi (= Colas) with its capital at Orthoura $130^{\circ} 16^{\circ} 20'$, ruled by Sōrnagos (§91);

4. Arouarnoi with its capital at Malanga $130^{\circ} 13^{\circ}$, ruled by Basaronagos (§92); and

5. District of the Maisōloi (called Maisōlia in §15, and Masalia in the *Periplus*) with its metropolis at Pitundra $135^{\circ} 18^{\circ}$ (§93).

It is clear from the situation of the above countries that on the way from the district of Masulipatam to the Pāṇḍya country, i. e., to the south of the former, lay first the country of Arouarnoi, then the coast of the Soringoi, and then Batoi. This "coast of the Soringoi" is evidently the same as the "Coast country" of the *Periplus* which seems to represent the Cola-maṇḍala of Sanskrit literature. Its capital Orthoura appears therefore to be the same as Argaru of the *Periplus* and Uraiūr (=Uragapura) of the present day.¹ But what about this Arouarnoi which has not been mentioned in the *Periplus*, but has been placed between the Cola-maṇḍala and Masulipatam by Ptolemy? In this connection it is interesting to note what Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says about the countries of this coast. "The east coast region, however, beginning with the river Vellar flowing across the state of Pudukottah now and emptying

¹ It must be noticed that a city called Argarou $136^{\circ} 15' 14^{\circ} 20'$ has been mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.*, VII, 1, §11) as belonging to the Pāṇḍya country. It can however hardly be identical with Argaru (=Uragapura) of the *Periplus* which, as we have seen, places it in the Coast-country, beyond the kingdom of Pandion. Ptolemy's Argarou in the Pāṇḍya country is evidently the same as Uragapura mentioned by Kalidasa as the capital of the Pāṇḍya kings (*Raghu*, VI, 59-60). That Uragapura of these two Greek authors is different is also proved by the fact that while the *Periplus* has it as "a region inland called Argaru", Ptolemy's map places the city just on the sea-shore (Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, Paris, 1923, Plats).

itself into the Bay of Bengal which marked the orthodox southern boundary of the Cholas, constituted the Chola-maṇḍalam which actually extended northwards therefrom to as far as the river South Pennar where began the division known as Aruvānāḍu which extended northwards along the coast almost as far as the Northern Pennar" (R. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. xi-ii). There can hardly be any doubt that this Aruvānāḍu between the northern and southern Pennars is the Arouarnoi of Ptolemy's Geography. This Arouarnoi is practically the same as the Kāñcī-maṇḍala, i. e., the district round Kāñcī.¹ It must however be noticed that the capital of this district, at the time of Ptolemy, was at Malanga which appears from Ptolemy's map to have been far to the north of Kāñcī.

It now appears that the Cola-maṇḍala or the Cola coast which at the time of the *Periplus* was possibly bounded by the Pāṇḍya country in the south and the "Masuli district" in the north was divided into two kingdoms in the age of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.). What is more interesting is that at the time of the Greek geographer, the Cola-maṇḍala proper was being ruled by a king named Śōr-nāga, while Aruvānāḍu, the northern part of the former Cola kingdom, was under the rule of a king named Basaro-nāga. We cannot be definite whether these two names really represent Indian names like Sura-nāga (or Sūrya-nāga) and Vajra-nāga or Varṣa-nāga; but there can be no doubt that at Ptolemy's time the Cola kingdom as well as the district round Kāñcī was ruled by princes who belonged to the family of the Nāgas. The existence of the Nāgas in the Coromandel coast seems to be further supported by the existence of the

1. "The surrounding territory was known as the Drāviḍa country, and also as the Kāñcī maṇḍala or province of Kāñcī, and as the Tenḍa, Tenḍai, Tenḍira, Tuṇḍira and Tuṇḍika maṇḍala, rāṣṭra, viśaya, or nāḍ. And Kāñcī itself was sometimes called Tuṇḍrapura, as the capital of the territory under the latter name" (*Bomb. Gov.*, I, ii, p. 318).

city called Uaraga-pura in the Pāṇḍya country and another of the same name in the Cola country. Uraga, as we all know, is the same as Nāga. It is however difficult to ascertain whether the "inland region called Argaru (=Uragapura)" was being ruled by the Nāgas (=Uragas) in the age of the *Periplus*; nevertheless the name supports a conjecture that in or before that period a place in the heart of the Cola country was under the Nāgas.¹

In this connection we should also notice the Buddhist traditions of Ceylon and Siam which speak of a Nāga country on the coast near the "Diamond Sands," to the south of Dantapura, between the mouth of the Gangēs and Ceylon (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. 1924, pp. 611-12). This country has been called Majerika. We do not know whether Majerika is the same as Masulika (Masulipatam) or a district named after the Manjhira branch of the Godavari or it is Ptolemy's Arouarnoi where the Nāga king Basaronāga once ruled. But the traditions seem to support the existence of a Nāga country on the eastern coast. Much value of the traditions is however vitiated by the fact that the epochs to which the two traditions refer are irreconcilable. The Ceylonese tradition gives the date as B.C. 157, while the Siamese tradition gives A.D. 310-313. If we believe the latter tradition (and also in the fact that the tradition refers to the Nāgas of the Coromandel coast), the Pallavas would appear to have risen to prominence after A.D. 313. This however seems to be improbable.

Before the middle of the second century therefore not the Pallavas but the Nāgas were ruling the coast country.

As scholars generally take Ptolemy's Siriptolemaios (sirī-Pulumāvi), ruler of Baithāna (Paṭṭhan in the Aurang-

¹ It may alternatively be suggested that Uragapura is really a Sanskritised form of the Tamil name Uraiyūr (literary, "city of greatness"). We must however notice that as early as the beginning of the Christian era the locality (or localities) was known to foreigners not as Uraiyūr, but as Uragapura (cf. Argaru).

abad district) to be the same as Vāsisthīputra śrī-Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, we see that Basaro-nāga, ruler of the Kāñcī region, and Sōr-nāga, ruler of the Coṣa-maṇḍala, reigned contemporaneously with this Śātavāhana king who possibly was the first to establish Śātavāhana power in the Andhra country (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 313).¹ It may not be altogether impossible that the successors of Basaro-nāga acknowledged the suzerainty of the powerful successors of Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi, such as the great Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi. It should be noticed here that Pulumāvi of the ship-coins appears to be the same as the king of the Myakadoni inscription, who was probably a successor of Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi and was the last king of the direct Śātavāhana line.

¹ Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi has been called "lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha" in the Naik inscription of year 19. In line 12 of the Junagadh inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44 ff.) the Śaka king Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.) mentions his Śātavāhana contemporary (Pulumāvi?) as "Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha." The epithet however seems to have nothing to do with the inclusion of Amthradaka in the Śātavāhana Kingdom (see p. 1 above).

II

RISE OF THE PALLAVAS¹

Scholars are now generally of opinion that the Pallavas were not indigenous to the Kāñcī region. Thus Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says, "The Pallavas seem nevertheless to have been foreign to the locality as far as our evidence takes us at present" (*op. cit.*, p. x). The question is now: When did the Pallavas attain political supremacy in the Kāñcī region?

We have already seen that about the middle of the second century A.D., when Ptolemy is known to have written his Geography, the above region was being ruled by the Nāgas. The Pallavas therefore did not rule as a recognised political power in the same locality before the middle of the second century of the Christian era. They are however believed to have risen to prominence certainly before the middle of the fourth century A.D. which is the time of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription. This record, as we all know, mentions a certain Kāñcīyaka Viṣṇugopa with whom the Gupta king (c. 330-75 A.D.) came into conflict during his South Indian campaign. This "Viṣṇugopa, ruler of Kāñcī" has been unanimously taken to have belonged to the Pallava family.

To about the same period should be assigned the Mayidavolu (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 84) and Hīrahadagalli (*ibid.*, I, p. 2) grants of the Pallava ruler Śīvaśkandavarman, and the British Museum grant (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 143) dated in the reign of a Pallava king named Vijaya-Skandavarman. These grants are written in Prakrit and are unanimously taken to be the earliest available epigraphic records of the Pallavas.

¹ The paper was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August, 1935, pp. 157-64.

There is however difference of opinion regarding the date of these epigraphs. But, as we shall show in the next section, they appear to belong to the first half of the fourth century A.D. The Pallavas therefore seem to have attained political supremacy in the Kāñcī region after the middle of the second but before the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era. Now, the next question would be: Who were the Pallavas, and how did they succeed in obtaining mastery over the Kāñcī region from the hands of the Nāgas?

It is almost certain that the Pallavas originally were executive officers under the Śātavāhana kings.¹ They were most probably in charge of the government of districts with titles like Mahārāṭhi and Mahāsenāpati, i.e., governor. There is inscriptional evidence to prove that the Śātavāhana kings took their officers from the families of the Guptas and Nāgas. A Nasik inscription mentions an officer named Śiva-gupta, and the Karle inscriptions refer to Gupta and Śivaskanda-Gupta (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 332). We have already seen that a Nāga chief named Skanda-nāga was ruling the Bellary district during the reign of Pulumāvi who was possibly the last Śātavāhana king of the main line. The Pallavas may have been officers like the Guptas and Nāgas.

But, who were the Pallavas?² Were they identical with the people called Pahlava or Palhava in inscriptions and literature? Some scholars are in favour of the identification. Their

¹ Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. xv; Sewell, *Lat. a. v.*, c. 235 A.D.

² See H. Krishnaasastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246. "The origin of the Pallavas has been obscure. A suggestion has been thrown out by Mr. Venkayya that they may have been connected with the Pahlavas, mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas and there classified as foreigners outside the pale of Aryan society (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, for 1916-17, p. 217 f.). It is true that here the Pallavas are so classed with the Sakas, Yavanas and other foreign tribes; nevertheless the possibility of their being a class that originated from an intermingling of the Brāhmanas with the indigenous Dravidian tribes is not altogether precluded. This presumption is confirmed partly by—"

arguments may be summed up as follows. The Pallavas, i.e., the Parthians, are known from inscriptions and coins to have been ruling in North-Western India in the beginning of the Christian era. At the time of the *Periplus*, "Parthian princes [who] were constantly driving each other out," were occupying the valley of the Indus. This people possibly pushed a little down to the south when they came into conflict with the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who is called "subduer of the Śakas, Yavanas and the Palhavas." Indeed, from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman we learn that a Palhava governor named Suviśākha, son of Kuṭaipa, was ruling the district of Ānarta¹ and Surāṣṭra under that great Śaka king. If, as it seems to be, the territory of the Palhavas lay not far off from the Sātavāhana kingdom, if they really came into conflict with the Sātavāhanas at the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, if the Palhavas accepted offices in the government of neighbouring kings, and if the Sātavāhana government accepted services of persons belonging to the neighbouring tribes, there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that the Palhavas were employed by the Sātavāhana kings and eventually carved out a principality in the south of the Sātavāhana kingdom after the decline of the latter.

corroborative statement made in the Rājasekhara copper plates (Sobers, Vol. V, p. 53) that Advantīdharmas, the Brāhminaga founder of the race, married a Nāga woman and had by her a son called Skandaditya. Other copper-plates (e. g., S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 333, vs. 10 & 11) which relate a similar story mention in the name of Skandaditya the name of the eponymous king Pallava, after whom the family name to be called Pallava. Hence it appears almost probable that the Pallavas like the Kalamboas of Banavadi (Dp. Kan. Dist., p. 386 and In. 3), the Nolambas of Mysore (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 10), the Malayas of Nijeradi (Nijeradi in the Vengalpetam district)

Other similar dynasties were the products of Brāhminaga inter-connections with other races, as the stories related of their origin indicate. The Pallavas are mentioned for the first time in an early Kalambo record of the 6th century A. D. (Talagunda inscription, No. 1, p. 11 f., verse 11/7) as Kshatriyas, and their earliest rulers are said to have performed Vedic sacrifices like the Ārya kings of old.² The Pallavas were also mentioned in the modern Deccan. In the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 82, 83; 84, 10, 11) they are mentioned as being seated in both Anarta and Deccan.

We however think that there are very strong grounds against the identification of the Pallavas with the people called Palhava (*i.e.*, the Parthians). If the people who were called Palhava or Pahlava at the time of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman, that is to say, during the first half of the second century A.D., is the same as the Pallavas whom we find stationed at Kāñcī at about the end of the third century, how are we to explain the fact that the latter have never been called Palhava either in the records of their own or in the records and works that refer to them? It is improbable that within the short period of about 150 years a tribe had utterly forgotten its original name, so much so that not even for once did its members use that name in the whole course of their history, though Indian literature in all succeeding ages has recognised a tribe named Palhava, sometimes even side by side with Pallava.

Another important point in this connection is that, in the Hirahadagalli grant, the earliest known Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, who appears to have ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., is reported to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. There is no evidence that kings belonging to foreign dynasties or tribes like the Saka, Kuṣāṇa, Gurjara, Hūṇa and others ever performed the Horse-sacrifice, even when they were Hinduised. It seems highly improbable that a foreigner would be very favourable to the obnoxious practices followed during the course of this sacrifice. Unless an immigrant tribe hopelessly forgets itself and imbibes utter orthodoxy of Hinduism, it seems impossible for its members to be able to expose their wives to such indelicate practices as are necessary in performing the Horse-sacrifice.¹ The performance of this out-and-out Brahmanical sacrifi-

¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. H. C. ... details about the Aśvamedha sacrifice, see Śaṅkha-Tejasa ... Mādhibhāra's commentary thereon. For the indelicate ...

Papini (IV. i. 117) seems to say that the Śuṅgas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. From the *Purāṇas* we know that the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas on the throne of Magadha, and the *Mālarikāgnimitra* informs us that a secondary capital of the Śuṅgas was at Vidiśā (mod. Besnagar near Bhilsa in the Jubbulpore district). Is it altogether impossible that the Pallavas really were a branch of the Śuṅgas of Vidiśā, who gradually pushed to the south, took services under the Sātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kāñcī region? ¹ Whatever the value of this suggestion may be, the fact that the Pallavas never try to connect themselves with the solar and lunar dynasties, famous in Indian legends, at least seems to show that they belonged originally to a Brāhmaṇa family of Northern India. If a Brāhmaṇa family rises to royal dignity, it cannot quite naturally look back for past glory to the Sūrya and Candra *vaṃśas* which were Kṣatriya dynasties. They can however claim connection with Bhāradvāja Droṇa, the great epic king of Northern Pañcāla, who was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, but took the profession of the Kṣatriyas. Cf. the case of the Sena kings of Bengal, who refer to themselves in their inscriptions as *Brahma-kṣatriya*.

"The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas traces its first appearance in the Śāligi grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 247). The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gāṇḍas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A. D. 950 (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 32). The Gata Purāṇic genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kalingalla-Purāṇa* (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 320) which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Gāṇḍya king Kulottunga Cholaḍera I, A.D. 1069-1112. And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gāṇḍas of Kollāṅga-nagara is first presented in a record of A.D. 1119 (Id., Vol. XVIII, p. 105). The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas... is the latest such pedigree that has as yet come to light. And possibly the discovery of an ancient record set the later fashion which became so general."

¹ It may be noted that the early Gāṇḍas claimed to have belonged to the Kāṇḍiśya gotra. Thus they claim connection with the famous Kāṇḍiśya royal that succeeded the Śuṅgas. We however do not know whether the claim could be an imitation, nor do we know whether the family-name Gāṇḍa has anything to do with the famous North-Indian river called Gāṇḍā.

But, how did the Pallavas occupy the Kāñcī region which was once under the Nāgas? This question is difficult to answer, as we know nothing definitely about the Pallava kings who ruled before Śivaskandavarman, or his father whose name is as yet unknown.¹ Indeed, later Pallava inscriptions, such as the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 342), the Velurahiya plates of Nandivarman III (*ibid.*, p. 508) and the Vayalur pillar inscription of Rājasiṃha (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 150), have mentioned the names of some early Pallava kings otherwise unknown and have traced the Pallava pedigree from Lord Brahman, through his descendants, Āṅgiras, Brhaspati, Saṃyu, Bhāradvāja, Droṇa, Aśvatthāman, Pallava and Aśoka (or Aśokavarman). There can be no question about the unhistoricity of this part of the genealogy. It is obviously fabricated on the basis of the name of the *gotra* of the Pallava family. We know that the Pallavas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra which has the pravaraṣ, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya. Pallava is evidently the eponym, while Aśokavarman "can scarcely be considered a historical person, but appears to be a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka."

It must be noted that the order and form of names mentioned after Aśokavarman in the traditional part of the Pallava genealogy are not uniform in the different inscriptions. Hultzsch therefore remarked on this part of the Kasakudi grant (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 343), "It must rather be concluded that, at the time of Nandivarman, nothing was known of the predecessors of Siṃhaviṣṇu but the names of some of them, and that the order of their

¹ According to Sewell (*Loc. cit.*, p. 12), "Bappa," i.e., the father of Śivaskandavarman, was a name assumed by Jayavarman of the Kondamudi grant. This theory is untenable in view of the fact that Jayavarman belonged to the Bhṛatphalgyana gotra, and the Pallavas are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. See my note in *Journ. Asiatic Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 108; and *ibid.*, p. 41.

succession and their relation to each other and to the subsequent line of Simhavishnu, were then entirely forgotten." This part of the Pallava genealogy may be compared with the mythical genealogy of the Calukyas about which Fleet says, "For the above account (*scil.* Calukya genealogy before Pulikeśin I), a certain amount of foundation may be derived from the fact that from the time of Pulikeśin II onwards, the Western Chālukyas were constantly at war with the Pallavas, who were their most powerful and inveterate foes, coupled with a tradition of the later Kadambas that the founder of the Kadamba family was a certain Trinetra or Trilochana. But in other respects, the account is a *farrago* of vague legends and Purāṇic myths of no authority" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 341-42). It is therefore difficult to believe that the traditional portion of the Pallava genealogy is much useful for the purpose of authentic history. Nevertheless it is tempting to make a few suggestions.

(i) Verse 6 of the Valurpalaiyam inscription says that Virakūreśa, son of Cūṭapallava, obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Nāga princess (*cf. phanindra-sutayā sah = āgrahīd = nāga-cihnam = akhilam*). We have seen above that the Nāgas were ruling over the Kāñcī region before the rise of the Pallavas in that locality; it is therefore not impossible that Virakūreśa married the heiress of the last Nāga king of Malanga and thus became the first Pallava king of the district round Kāñcī.¹ Some very late inscriptions (of about the 11th century) mention a king named Trilochana as the earliest illustrious ancestor of

¹ Many scholars think that the Cūṭa-Śālakarṇa of Kuntala were Nāgas and that the father-in-law of Pallava Virakūreśa belonged to the family of these Cūṭa-Nāgas. Since we have tried to prove Nāga occupation of the Kāñcī region just before the rise of the Pallavas, the above suggestion seems to be more plausible. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 199) is inclined to identify the Nāga relations of the Pallavas with the Bhāradvījas (possibly Nāgas) of Central India. His arguments, however, are not convincing.

(iii) A successor of Vīrakūreṇa was Skandaśiṣya who came into conflict with a king named Satyasena (verse 7). Was this Satyasena in any way connected with the Pālakkaka Ugrasena of the Allahabad pillar inscription, who possibly ruled at Palakkaka (sometimes a seat of Pallava government) in the Nellore region?

(iv) Another successor of Vīrakūreṇa was Kumāraviṣṇu (verse 8) who is credited with the seizure of Kāñcī (*grhita-kāñcinagara*). Does it mean that the Pallavas first ruled at Malanga, the Nāga capital, which possibly lay somewhere to the north of Kāñcī and that Kumāraviṣṇu was the first Pallava king to have his capital at Kāñcī? Had the Colas, then, become again master of their country and occupied the Nāga territory as far as the city of Kāñcī? The mention of Kumāraviṣṇu and Buddhavarman together, however, makes it very probable that this Kumāraviṣṇu is to be identified with Kumāraviṣṇu I of the Chendalur grant.¹

(v) A successor of Kumāraviṣṇu was Buddhavarman, who, is called submarine fire to the sea that was the Cola army (*cola-sainy-ārṇava-vādar-āgni*). Does it signify the continuation of the war with the Colas, which we have supposed to have begun in the reign of Kumāraviṣṇu?

1. If this identification be accepted, the other suggestion is because it's capital of the Pallavas lying before the time of Kumāra viṣṇu-śāścinagara would possibly mean recovering Kāñcī occupation of the Colas.

III

DATE OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN¹

The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Sivaskandavarman and the British Museum grant dated in the reign of king *nijaya*-Skandavarman are the earliest available records of the Pallavas. They are written in Prakrit, while the later epigraphs of the early Pallavas are in Sanskrit. We have already noticed that there is a controversy over the date of these records and, therefore, of the Pallava rulers named Sivaskandavarman and Skandavarman to whom they belong. Fleet thought that these kings should be placed after the Pallava king Viṣṇugopa mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 819). According to this scholar therefore the two Pallava kings reigned about the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. Prof. Durbeuil (*Anc. His. Dec.*, p. 70), on the other hand, assigns Sivaskandavarman, whom he identifies with *vijaya*-Skandavarman, to about A.D. 250-75, i.e., about the third quarter of the third century. It is now generally believed that the king or kings mentioned in the Prakrit grants of the Pallavas ruled before the time of Viṣṇugopa, ruler of Kāñcī, mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription (Krishnasastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 243; Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 181). Here I am going to show that Sivaskandavarman probably reigned in the first quarter of the 4th century and that *vijaya*-Skandavarman of the British Museum grant was possibly a different king who seems to have reigned a little later than Sivaskandavarman.

Ptolemy who wrote his geography about A.D. 140, mentions (VII, i, §63 and §82) Tiastēnes (=Caṣṭana),

¹ My paper on the date of Pallava Sivaskandavarman was first published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 702 ff.; the question was previously discussed in my paper, *Date of Śīlāhāyana Devavarman*, in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 498 ff.

ruler of Ozēnē (Ujjayinī), and Siriptolemaios (=siri-Pulumāyi or °māvi), ruler of Baithāna (Paithan in the Aurangabad district), as his contemporaries. The Andau inscriptions, issued in the joint-reign of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman, are dated in the year 52 which must be referred to the Śaka era and would correspond to A.D. 130 (Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 307 ff). Caṣṭana's contemporary Pulumāvi who has been identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*ibid.*, p. 313), must also have ruled about the same time.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which is the only work that gives a fuller list of the Śātavāhana kings and seems therefore to be more authentic as regards Śātavāhana chronology than the other *Purāṇas*, the following Śātavāhana kings ruled after Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (see Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. lxvii) :

1. Śivaśrī [Śātakarṇi]	... 7 years.
2. Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	... 7 years.
3. Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	... 29 years. ¹
4. Vijaya	... 6 years.
5. Caṇḍaśrī [Śātakarṇi]	... 10 years. ²
	59 years.
6. Pulomā[vi]	... 7 years. ³
	66 years.

¹ The real name of this king is Yajña (not Yajñaśrī) Śātakarṇi (see my note in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1931, p. 530). He is called *siri-Yajña-Śātakarṇi* in inscriptions and coins, and *siri* is no doubt an honorific. The Chinua inscription is dated in his twenty-seventh year (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95). The Purāṇic tradition ascribing a reign-period of twenty-nine years to him therefore seems to be true.

² The real name of the Purāṇic Caṇḍaśrī appears to have been Caṇḍa (or Candras) Śātakarṇi. He is never called Candrasrī or Caṇḍaśrī in inscriptions and coins.

³ The Myakadoni inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153) of Pulumāvi is dated in his eighth regnal year. He therefore appears to have ruled for more than seven years.

The only inscription of Pulomā or Pulumāvi, the last king of the list, has been discovered at Myakadoni in the Bellary district (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153). We therefore cannot be definite as regards his rule over Andhradeśa proper. But the Amaravati inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and Sivamaka Sada (=Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi?), the Chinna (Kistna district) inscription of Yajña Śātakarṇi and the Kodavali (Godavari district) inscription of Caḍa Śāta or Śāti (Caṇḍaśrī or Candrasrī Śātakarṇi) leave no doubt that at least the Śātavāhana kings of the list, who ruled before Pulumāvi of the Myakadoni grant, were rulers of the Andhra country (*Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 61 and 100; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95; XVIII, p. 316). As Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, is known to have ruled in the second quarter of the second century, it appears that the Andhra country was under the Śātavāhana yoke at least up to the beginning of the third century A.D.

According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 318) the second year of Caḍa Śāti is equivalent to A.D. 210. We may therefore arrange approximately the chronology of the above kings as follows :

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| 1. Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi | ... | circa A.D. 160-166. |
| 2. Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi | ... | circa A.D. 167-173. |
| 3. Yajña(śrī) Śātakarṇi | ... | circa A.D. 174-202. |
| 4. Vijaya | ... | circa A.D. 203-208. |
| 5. Caṇḍa(śrī) Śātakarṇi | ... | circa A.D. 209-218. |

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi ruled for twenty-eight years. He therefore seems to have ruled from about A.D. 132 to 159.¹ This date,

¹ From a different point of view, Rapson has also come to practically the same conclusion. The last known date of Nahapāna, the records of whose reign, according to many scholars, are dated in the Śaka era, is Śaka 46=124 A.D.; his reign could not have extended much beyond that date. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's success over Nahapāna almost certainly took place in the eighteenth year of his reign (*cf.* *Nasik Ins.*; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71; *Karik Ins.*; *ibid.*, VII, p. 60). The

though approximate, corroborates the fact that Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi was a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy who wrote his book about 140 A.D., and of the Śaka ruler Caṣṭana who is known to have reigned in A.D. 130.

The Ikṣvākus who succeeded the Śātavāhanas in the rule of the Kistna-Guntur region (i.e., the Andhra country)¹ must therefore have risen to prominence not before the time of Caṇḍa (śrī) Śātakarṇi. The sovereignty of the Ikṣvākus over Andhradeśa thus appears to have begun from about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃptamūla I, the first known Ikṣvāku king, should be placed after the time of Caṇḍa(śrī). He could not have been a feudatory of the Śātavāhanas, as he is said to be a performer of the Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices. We have already seen that according to the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (V, 1. 1. 13),² the performance of the Vājapeya bestows on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya*, while Kieth has rightly pointed out that the Aśvamedha "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). It is perfectly clear from statements contained in the *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra* (XV, 1), *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* (XX, i, 1, quoted in

eighteenth year of Gautamiputra is therefore A.D. 124 or 124+x. Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi thus seems to have ascended the throne in A.D. 106 or 106+x. The latest inscriptional date of this king is year 24, which would correspond to A.D. 130 or 130+x. His son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi appears to have lost much of his territories to the Śaka ruler Rudradāman before Pulumāvi's 15th regnal year and before Śaka 52 (A.D. 150), which is the date of Rudradāman's Junagadh inscription. According to Rapson therefore the accession of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi took place in about A.D. (150-159) 131. See Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi-ii, xix, xxvi-viii. The chronology we have proposed here would place Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi approximately in A.D. 129-159 and Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, who seems to have ruled for about 24 years, in A.D. 107-131.

¹ The Ikṣvāku records have been discovered at Jaggayyapeta in the Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district (*Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 237) and at Nagarjunikonda in the Palnad taluka of the Guntur district (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 1 ff.; XXI, p. 61 ff.).

² Cf. *rājā vai rājanāyaka* = *śāhā bhārati*, *śāmrāj* = *rājanāyaka* = *desaraj* hi *rājanāyaka* *sāmrājya* *kānyata* vai *rājā samrāj* = *bhārataraj*, etc.

Sabdakalpadruma-Pariśiṣṭa, s. v.) and the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (III, viii, 9, 4; V, iv, 12, 3) that a feudatory ruler could never perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice.¹ The Horse-sacrifice celebrated by Cāntamūla I, therefore, appears to suggest his success against his Sātavāhana overlords.

We do not know for how many years the Ikṣvāku king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāntamūla I ruled over the Andhra country. It is however known from the Jaggayyapeta records that his son, Virapurisadata, reigned at least up to his twentieth year, while according to the Kottampalugu record, Ehuṇḍa Cāntamūla II, successor of Virapurisadata and the last known king of the dynasty, ruled at least up to his eleventh year. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that these three Ikṣvāku kings together ruled for about more than half a century. The end of the reign of Cāntamūla II thus appears to have fallen in the fourth quarter of the third century A.D.

According to the evidence of the Mayidavolu grant, dated in the reign of Sivaskandavarman's father, Andhrāpatha (i.e., the Andhra country) with its headquarters at Dhamṇakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka) passed from the Ikṣvākus to the possession of the Pallavas. Pallava Sivaskandavarman, who was like Cāntamūla I a performer of the great Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices,² was preceded in the suzerainty of Andhrāpatha at least by his father who must have ruled the country after Ehuṇḍa Cāntamūla II. Sivaskandavarman therefore can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 300. His title [Dharma-] *Mahārājadhīrāja*, which, in North India, the Guptas imitated from the Kuṣāṇas at the beginning of the fourth century also points to this direction. This view, moreover, can be confirmed by an altogether different line of argument.

¹ See Kieth, *Black Yajus*, pp. xxiii-iv; and my notes in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 311, II, p. 789, III, p. 376, IV, p. 371. See moreover the Appendix where in the whole question has been discussed.

² The Aśvamedha performed by Sivaskandavarman seems to suggest his success against the Ikṣvākus and other neighbouring powers.

There is some linguistic difference between the grants of Śivaskandavarman and the records of the Ikṣvāku kings. Like the Śātavāhana grants and other early Prakrit inscriptions, the Ikṣvāku records (excepting a record of the last known King; *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62) express compound-consonants by single letters. The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman, on the other hand, express them, in many cases, by two letters. Though the grants of Śivaskandavarman are in Prakrit, the legend on the seals of both the grants are written in Sanskrit. The Hirahadagalli grant, moreover, ends in a *maṅgala* which is also written in Sanskrit. This linguistic difference between the epigraphs of the known Ikṣvāku kings and those of Śivaskandavarman (one of whose grants is dated in the reign of his father) clearly points to the fact that there was an interval between the reign of the former and that of the latter. Consequently, Śivaskandavarman could not have ruled much earlier than the beginning of the fourth century A.D. He cannot however be placed later than Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa who came into conflict with Samudragupta about the middle of that century. We have shown that Pallava Śivaskandavarman ruled earlier than Śālanākāyana Devavarman who was a predecessor of Śālanākāyana Hastivarman, the Vaiṅgeyaka contemporary of Samudragupta (see *above*, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 498 ff.; also *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 212 and *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 37). He therefore appears to have reigned about the first quarter of the fourth century.

We have already shown that the word *vijaya*, in names like *vijaya-Skandavarman*, is not an integral part of the name, but is a simple honorific.¹ The name of the Pallava king mentioned in the British Museum grant therefore is Skandavarman. Some scholars think that the word *śiva* in the name of Śiva-skandavarman, is also an honorific

¹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 208; also *above*.

like *vijaya* in the other names and that the Pallava prince *śiva*-Skandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirabadagalli grants is identical with king *vijaya*-Skandavarman of the British Museum grant. The absence of any king named Sivaskandavarman and the existence of many Skandavarman in the traditional list of early Pallava kings, and also the use of the word *śiva*, in the Kadamba inscriptions, as an honorific in names like *vijaya-śiva*-Māndhātṛvarman, *vijaya-śiva*-Mrgeśavarman and *vijaya-śiva*-Kṛṣṇavarman (II), may be taken as proofs in support of this theory. It must however be noticed that there is not even a single instance where the word *śiva* is singly used as an honorific. It may be argued that *śiva* in the names of Śivaskandanāgaśrī of the Banavasi inscription (Lüders, List, No. 1124) and Sivaskandavarman of the Malavalli inscription (*ibid*, No. 1196) is only an honorific compounded with the names. These persons belonged to royal families. But Śiva-skandagupta is the name of an ordinary person in the Karle inscription No. 19 (*ibid*, No. 1105) and Śivaskandila (Śivaskandanāga?) is that of an ordinary officer in a Nasik inscription of Pulumāvi (*ibid*, No. 1124). Since honorifics are not known to have been used by ordinary persons, it is clear that Sivaskandavarman was certainly not an improper name in ancient India. The name of Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra (Śātavāhana) kings, where no other king's name is mentioned with an honorific, is also in support of this suggestion. The name of the Brāhmaṇa Bhavaskandatrōta in the Chendalur grant is also to be noticed in this connection. Since the traditional list of early Pallava kings is of very doubtful authority, we can hardly make out anything from the non-mention of Śivaskandavarman in it. The identification of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirabadagalli grants with Skandavarman of the British Museum grant is therefore extremely doubtful.

As the British Museum grant is also written in Prakrit a linguistic consideration may be useful in ascertaining its date. This grant expresses double-consonants, in all cases, by more than one letter, and generally follows the spelling accepted in literary Prakrit. It has moreover the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. There can therefore be hardly any doubt that the British Museum grant is later than the grants of Śivaskandavarman. Skandavarman seems to have been a successor of Śivaskandavarman.

Such linguistic considerations have led us to believe that the Pallava kings of the Prakrit records, Śāṅkāyana Devavarman of the Elloré grant, Kadamba Mayūraśarman of the Chandravalli inscription (*Mys. Arc. Surv., A. R.*, 1929, p. 50), the Kadamba king of the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk., No. 264), Viṇhukaḍḍa Śātakarṇi of another Malavalli record (*ibid.*, No. 263)¹ and Brhatphalāyana Jayavarman of the Kondamudi grant² may all be placed roughly between about the beginning and the middle of the fourth century.

¹ Linguistic consideration seems to suggest that the Banavasi inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 361) belonged to an earlier Viṇhukaḍḍa Śātakarṇi.

² The difference in palaeography between the Kondamudi plates and the seal attached to them may be taken to suggest that Jayavarman ruled a little earlier than the time suggested by the linguistic standard of the Kondamudi grant. But as has already been noticed, the legend on the seal which is in Sanskrit cannot be much earlier than 300 A.D.

IV

EARLY PALLAVA GENEALOGY FROM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NELLORE-GUNTUR REGION

Some Sanskrit records of the Early Pallavas have been found in the Nellore and Guntur districts, which at one time formed the Northern part of the kingdom of Kāñcī. The Pallava genealogy constructed from these records cannot be quite easily and satisfactorily assimilated into the traditional list of early Pallava kings found in later records. The Pallava kings mentioned in these northern inscriptions, moreover, can scarcely be identified without difficulty with the Pallava princes mentioned in the inscriptions of the rulers of Kāñcī. Whether they ruled over Kāñcī proper is also not definitely known. It is therefore convenient to discuss the Early Pallavas of the northern records separately.

The Omgodu grant, No. 1 (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 246), issued from the *sthāna* or city of Tambrāpa in the 33rd year of king Skandavarman, furnishes us with the following list of kings :

1. Mahārāja Kumāraṣṭu; his son
2. Mahārāja Skandavarman (I); his son
3. Viravarman; his son
4. Mahārāja śrī-vijaya-Skandavarman (II).

Next we come to the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 50) of prince Viṣṇugopavarman, issued from the *sthāna* of Palakkāḍa, in the 11th year of Mahārāja Sīṃhavarman. Here we get the following names :

1. Mahārāja Skandavarman (I); his son
2. Mahārāja Viravarman; his son
3. Mahārāja Skandavarman (II) ; his son
4. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman.

There can be no doubt that prince Viṣṇugopavarman, issuer of the Uruvupalli grant, was the son of king Skandavarman II who issued the Omgodu grant No. 1. There is however difference of opinion as regards the identification of king Simhavarman in whose reign the grant of the prince was issued. According to Fleet, Mahārāja Simhavarman was possibly an elder brother of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa. According to Hultzsch however king Simhavarman of the Uruvupalli grant is the same as Viṣṇugopa's son Simhavarman who issued the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants. "The term *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which is prefixed to Viṣṇugopa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Simhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II to his son Simhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Viṣṇugopa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Simhavarman to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher will say—the Uruvupalli grant" (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 160-61).

Three inscriptions of Viṣṇugopa's son Simhavarman have as yet been discovered. They are the Omgodu (No. 2) grant issued in his fourth year from a *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, 246), the Pikira grant issued in his fifth year from the *viṣaya-skandhāvāra* of Memātura-vāsaka (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 159 ff.) and the Mangalur grant issued in his eighth year from Daśanapura (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 154). They give us the following genealogical list :

1. Mahārāja Viravarman; his son
2. Mahārāja Skandavarman (II); his son

3. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa; his son
4. Dharmā-mahārāja¹ Simhavarman.

Next we come to the fragmentary Darsi record (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 397). The only information we get from this inscription is that it was issued from the *adhiṣṭhāna* (city or capital) of Daśanapura by the great-grandson of a Pallava king named Virakoreavarman. The form *virakorea* (*cf.* Virakūrcavarman of later grants) shows considerable Prakrit influence which proves that the grant belongs to the period immediately following the age of the Prakrit grants. We have already noticed that the Prakrit records of the Pallavas are not written in the early inscriptional Prakrit and that they have in them passages and verses couched in Sanskrit. It must also be noticed that the Omgodu grant (No. 1) of king Skandavarman II is dated in his 33rd regnal year, on the 13th *tithi* of the third fortnight of Hemanta. This is an old form of dating used in almost all Prakrit inscriptions. Like the Darsi grant, therefore, the Omgodu grant (No. 1) also seems to have belonged to the same period, i. e., the early Sanskrit period. Sanskrit grants showing considerable Prakrit influence appear to me not much later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. They may be roughly placed between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.²

¹ Other South Indian kings (e.g., the Kadamba kings Migadevarman and Bhojavarmān) also used the title Dharmamahārāja. According to Fleet (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 289, note 5), the title means "a Mahārāja by, or in respect of, religion," and may be rendered by "a pious or rituous Mahārāja"; but what it actually denotes is "a Mahārāja who, at the particular time of the record, was engaged in an act of religion (dharma)." Some kings are called Dharmamahārājādhirāja; *cf.* Pallava-Sivastambavarman; the Kadamba king of the Malevali record; Gaṅga Nṛsimhaśa-Raṅgaśa-varma-Permanaḍi and his successors (*op. cit.*, p. 363, note 8). The epithet Dharmamahārāja, as Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests to me, seems to have been connected with the peculiar boast of these kings to be *kalipuga-doj-ivastanna-dharm-oddharaya-nitya-sannaddha*.

² For dates expressed in the old fashion in the Viṣṇukūṣṇin records, see above; and for the two Kadamba grants, see below.

It is possible that the great-grandson of Virakocavarman, who issued the Darsi grant, was a predecessor of king Skandavarman II. Consequently, Virakocavarman, great-grandfather of the issuer of the Darsi grant, was probably a predecessor of Kumāraviṣṇu, great-grandfather of the issuer of the Omgodu grant (No. 1).

We have now to consider the seventh and last of the Sanskrit grants so far discovered in the Nellore-Guntur region. It is the Narasaraopet record (commonly called the Chura grant), issued from the camp at Pālotkaṭa (= Palakkada) during the reign of *vijaya*-Viṣṇugopavarman (II), son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (I) and great-grandson of Kandavarman (i.e., Skandavarman). See *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, pp. 10 and 82. The grant is not dated; its language is Sanskrit and the alphabet used is Telugu. It registers the king's grant of the village of Curā in the Karmarāṣṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Casamiśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was an inhabitant of Kuṇḍur.¹

The fact that the first three names of the Narasaraopet list, viz., (1) Kandavarman (i.e., Skandavarman), (2) Viṣṇugopavarman (I) and (3) Siṃhavarman, are found exactly in the same order in the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants of Siṃhavarman makes it almost certain that Viṣṇugopavarman II of the Narasaraopet grant was a son and successor of the issuer of the above three grants. Two points however have been advanced (*ibid.*, 82) against the possibility of this identification. First, it has been said that the characters in which the Narasaraopet record is engraved are comparatively more modern than those used in the grants of Siṃhavarman. Secondly, it is argued that in the Uruvupalli, Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants,

¹ The same as the native village of Sivatarman, recipient of the Polamuru grant of Viṣṇukunja Mādhavarman I: see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 350, and above.

the son of Skandavarman and father of Simhavarman has been mentioned as a *Yuvārāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*, while in the Narasaraopet grant Viṣṇugopavarman I is called a *Mahārāja*. It has therefore been observed that Viṣṇugopavarman II of the Narasaraopet grant "must be a later king and very probably one of the missing group immediately preceding the line of Simhavarman and Simhavishnu whose history is pretty certain" (*loc. cit.*). The grant has been assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In connection with the first point however we should notice the fact that the characters used in the Omgodu grant (No. 2) of Simhavarman, son of Viṣṇugopavarman (I), are remarkably similar to those of the Narasaraopet grant of Viṣṇugopavarman II. Krishnasastri therefore thought that the Omgodu grant (No. 2) "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the seventh century, though no direct evidence, external or internal, is to be found on this point from the wording of the grant itself. The numerous mistakes made by the engraver may possibly point to this conclusion" (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 252). If the Omgodu grant (No. 2) is believed to have been an early record copied about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., what is the objection if we think that the Narasaraopet grant was also an early inscription likewise copied about the same time?

As for the second point, it may be said that the epithet *Mahārāja* applied to Viṣṇugopavarman I in the Narasaraopet grant, which should properly be *Yuvamahārāja*, may be a mistake due to the engraver's inattention. The possibility of such a mistake becomes greater, if we believe that the Narasaraopet record is an early grant copied years after like the Omgodu grant No. 2, about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

From the seven Sanskrit copper-plate grants, therefore, the following genealogical list of the early Pallava kings may

be prepared :

1. Mahārāja Vīrakorāvarman (Darsi grant); his successor (?)

2. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu; his son

3. Mahārāja Skandavarman (I); his son

4. Mahārāja Vīravarman; his son

5. Mahārāja Skandavarman (II); issued the Omgodu grant No. 1 in his 33rd year; his son

5A. Mahārāja Simhavarman (I ?); he is according to Fleet the Pallava king referred to in the Uruvupalli grant; his existence however is doubtful;

5B. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (I); issued the Uruvupalli grant; did not rule as Mahārāja; seems to have been wrongly called Mahārāja in the Narasaraopet grant; his son

6. Mahārāja Simhavarman (II ?); issued the Omgodu No. 2, Pikira and Mangalur grants respectively in his 4th, 5th and 8th years; his son

7. Mahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (II); issued the Narasaraopet grant.

V

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY PALLAVAS OF KĀŃCĪ

We do not know whether the Pallava kings discussed in the last section ruled over the whole of the kingdom of Kāñcī. It is however probable that some one of the princes of the Pallava house of Kāñcī, who was originally made a viceroy of the northern part of the Pallava kingdom by the king of Kāñcī, carved out a separate principality in that part independent of his overlord. If this suggestion is to be believed, the kings of the main line of the Pallavas appear to have been ruling at Kāñcī side by side with the branch line that was ruling in the Northern part of the old Kāñcī kingdom. Here we shall try to see what we know about the history of Kāñcī after the time of the Pallava kings of the Prakrit grants.

We have seen that Kāñcī was under a Pallava king about the fourth quarter of the third century A.D. That king was succeeded by his son Śivaskandavarman who ruled about the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. He may have been succeeded by a king named Skandavarman. In the British Museum grant of the time of Skandavarman, there is mention of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman and of the Yuvamahārāja's son whose name has been doubtfully read as Buddhysānkura. It is not known whether this king ruled at Kāñcī and whether the crown-prince Buddhavarman and his son ever ascended the throne.

In an attempt to fix the date of the Early Pallava kings of Kāñcī, we are fortunate to have at least three points whereon we can stand with confidence.

(i) The first of these points is supplied by the Jain work, *Lokavibhāga* (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1909 & 1910), where the precise date of the completion of the work is given as the 22nd year of Simhavarman, lord of the Pallavas, and as 80 beyond 300 years of the Śaka era. The 22nd year of a Pallava king named Simhavarman therefore comes to be equivalent to Śaka 380, i.e., A.D. 458. According to S. Jha the date given in the *Lokavibhāga* corresponds to the 1st of March, 458; but according to Fleet to the 25th August, 458. Any way, the 22nd year of the Pallava king Simhavarman corresponds to A.D. 458. He therefore began to reign in $(458 - 21 =)$ A.D. 436-37 (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 334).

(ii) The second point of importance is furnished by the Penukonda plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhava (*ibid*, p. 331 ff.) which, according to Fleet, are to be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to about A.D. 475. It may be noticed here that the characters of this epigraph are remarkably similar to that of the epigraphs of the Śaṅkākāyana king Nandivarman II (e.g., the Peddavegi grant; *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I, p. 92ff.) whom I have placed about the middle of the fifth century A.D. (*above*, p. 73; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, 208ff.). The Penukonda grant was issued by the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Simhavarman, son of Āyyavarman, grandson of Mādhava and great-grandson of Koṅkaṇivarman. But the greatest point of historical importance in this inscription is that it tells us of Mādhava-Simhavarman being installed on the throne by the Pallava king Skandavarman and his father Āyyavarman being installed by the Pallava king Simhavarman. We have seen that Fleet ascribes the Penukonda plates to circa 475 A.D. It is therefore almost certain that the Pallava king Simhavarman who installed Āyyavarman, father of the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Simhavarman of the Penukonda plates, is identical with the Pallava king Sim-

havarman who, according to the *Lokaribhāga*, began to rule in A.D. 436-37.

(iii) The third point of importance is supplied by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which refers to the Gupta king's conflict with a certain Kāñcēyaka Viṣṇugopa. This "Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī" has been taken by all scholars to have belonged to the family of the Pallavas. Samudragupta is believed to have reigned from *circa* 330 to 375 A.D. This dating appears possible from the facts that his father Candragupta I began to rule in A.D. 320¹ and that the earliest date of his son Candragupta II, according to the Mathura inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 1 ff.), is (Gupta 61+320=) 381 A.D. Since it is proved from the Prakrit records that the Pallavas were master of the kingdom of Kāñcī during the first half of the fourth century A.D., it is almost certain that Kāñcēyaka Viṣṇugopa of the Allahabad pillar inscription was a Pallava king who ruled in the middle of that century which is the time of Samudragupta's South Indian campaign.

Let us now see whether these three Pallava kings—Simpavarman, Skandavarman and Viṣṇugopa, whose date is fairly correct—can be found in the epigraphs of the Pallavas themselves. The evidence of the Penukonda plates recording the installation of two consecutive Gaṅga kings—Āyavarman, and his son Mādhava-Simpavarman who seems to have been named after his father's overlord—by the Pallava kings, Simpavarman and Skandavarman, renders it most likely that the Pallava king Simpavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Skandavarman. It is very interesting in this connection to note that the Udayendiram grant (No. 1) of Nandivarman (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 142) issued from Kāñcīpura, is the only known Pallava

¹ Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296; above, p. 89 n.

record, where in we find a Pallava king named Siṅghavarman (Siphavarman) succeeded by his son Skandavarman. The genealogy given in this record is :

1. Skandavarman (I) ; his son
2. Siṅghavarman ; his son
3. Skandavarman (II) ; his son
4. Nandivarman.

These four kings are mentioned exactly in the same order in the Vayalur grant of Rājasimha (*ibid.*, XVIII, p. 150 ; see Nos. 41-44), though the relation of one with the others is not specified there. We are therefore inclined to identify the Pallava king Siphavarman of the *Lokavibhāga* and the Penukonda plates and Skandavarman of the latter, with respectively the second and the third king of the above list.

Beside the Udayendiram grant, there is another Sanskrit grant belonging to the early Pallava rulers of Kāñci. This is the Chendalur grant of Kumāraviṣṇu II (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 233ff.) issued from Kāñcīpura in the king's second regnal year. The grant supplies us with the following line of kings :

1. Mahārāja Skandavarman ; his son
2. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu (I) ; his son
3. Mahārāja Buddhavarman ; his son
4. Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṇu (II) ; 2nd year.

According to Hultzsch (*ibid.*, p. 334), "The alphabet of the Chendalur plates is more archaic than those of the Kūram and Kāśakudī plates, but resembles those of the Pīkīra, Maṅgalūr and Uruvupalli grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamp it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k*, and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pīkīra,

Mangalūr and Uruvupalli grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalur plates ruled in the interval between Simhavarman (of the Omgodu No. 2, Pikira and Mangalūr grants) and Simhaviṣṇu (father of Mahendravarman I, acc. circa 600 A.D.).'

We have already seen that Simhavarman, the second of the four kings mentioned in the Udayendiram grant, ruled from A.D. 436-37 to not earlier than A.D. 458. Thus his father Skandavarman I appears to have ruled at Kāñcī about the first quarter of the fifth century, and his grandson Nandivarman seems to have ended his rule about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The accession of Mahendravarman I to the throne of Kāñcī is supposed to have taken place about the end of the same century, owing to his being an older contemporary of the Western Calukya king Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642). Mahendravarman I was preceded by his father Simhaviṣṇu and grandfather Simhavarman (see verses 10-11 of the Velurpalaiyam grant ; *S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. II, p. 363). Between Nandivarman, the issuer of the Udayendiram grant, who seems to have ruled up to the beginning of the sixth century and Simhavarman, grandfather of Mahendravarman I, the Vayalur record places three kings named (1) Simhavarman, (2) Simhavarman and (3) Viṣṇugopa. The Vayalur grant thus places five kings between Nandivarman and Mahendravarman I, i.e., in the sixth century A.D. roughly. Since the rule of five kings covering about a century does not appear impossible, since the existence of four earlier kings (Nos. 41-44 of the Vayalur list) has been proved by the Udayendiram grant and since it is possible that the Greater Pallavas of the line of Mahendravarman I did not forget even their immediate predecessors, the three kings (Nos. 45-47) placed by the Vayalur record between Nandivarman and Mahendravarman's grandfather may be

historical persons, though we have as yet no corroborative proof of their existence. We therefore think that the four kings of Kāñcī mentioned in the Chendalur grant ruled before the kings of the Udayendiram grant. The kings of the Chendalur record however appear to have ruled after Viṣṇugopa who came into conflict with Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century A.D. We have already seen that, in the first half of the fourth century, Kāñcī was occupied by the Pallava kings who issued the Prakrit charters.

There are references to some Pallava rulers in the inscriptions of the Kadambas. An epigraph of the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 29) mentions Caṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kāñcī, who was defeated by the Kadamba monarch. Caṇḍadaṇḍa¹ is evidently not the name but a *biruda* of the Pallava ruler of Kāñcī who fought with Ravivarman. He cannot be satisfactorily identified with any king of the traditional list of early Pallava kings. His contemporary, the Kadamba king Ravivarman appears to have ruled about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century (500-537 A.D. according to Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, p. 95). The Anaṇḍi inscription (*Ép. Carn.*, XI, p. 142) mentions a Pallava king whose name has been read as Napakkāsa and who was possibly a contemporary of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I who ruled about the middle of the fifth century. But the reading of the name Napakkāsa is doubtful.² Another Pallava king named Śāntivara[varman, *i.e.*, Śāntivarman] has been mentioned in the Hebbata plates (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1925, p. 96) of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman. This Pallava king is supposed by some (see *infra*) to be also

¹ Cf. Ugradaṇḍa, a *biruda* of Pallava Parameśvaravarman I, c. 655-80 A.D.

² In *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 42 note, it has been suggested that the reading of the passage would be *na-śa-śa-paṇa napaṇa*. If this reading is to be accepted, the name of the Pallava king referred to in the Anaṇḍi inscription is not as yet known.

mentioned in the Birur plates (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91). But he cannot be satisfactorily identified with any of the Pallava kings known from the traditional list. It must also be noticed that excepting Caṇḍaṇḍa none of these kings is expressly said to have ruled at Kāñcī.

We thus come to know of the following early Pallava kings who appear to have ruled at Kāñcī before the rise of the Greater Pallavas of Mahendravarman's line :

1. Father of Sivaskandavarman; about the end of the third century A.D., his son.

2. Sivaskandavarman; about the beginning of the fourth century; issued the Prakrit grants discovered at Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli.

3. Skandavarman; the British Museum grant was issued in his reign; he is not definitely known to have ruled at Kāñcī; he may have been an early member of the branch line of the Nellore-Guntur region.

4. Viṣṇugopa; came into conflict with Samudragupta (circa 330-375 A.D.) about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

5. Skandavarman; his son

6. Kumāraṣṇu I;¹ his son

¹ May this Kumāraṣṇu I be identical with Kumāraṣṇu, great-grandfather of the issuer of the Ongodu grant No. 12. The first difficulty in this identification is that Kumāraṣṇu of the Ongodu (No. 12) grant has been called a performer of the Aśramadha sacrifice, while the Chudalur grant does not credit Kumāraṣṇu I with any such distinction. It is also striking that only in the grants of the descendants of Kumāraṣṇu of the Ongodu (No. 12) grant the Pallava family is called "purified by the Aśramadha." The above tentative identification is therefore extremely doubtful. Another difficulty is that while according to the Chudalur grant Kumāraṣṇu I was succeeded by his son Buddhavarman and grandson Kumāraṣṇu II, according to the Ongodu grant (No. 12) Kumāraṣṇu was succeeded by his son Skandavarman I, grandson Viravarman and great-grandson Skandavarman II. Not in this connection we

7. Buddhavarman; his son
 8. Kumāraviṣṇu II; issued the Chendalur grant.
-

9. Skandavarman (I); his son

10. Siṃhavarman; he ascended the throne in A.D. 436-37 and ruled at least up to A.D. 458; his son

11. Skandavarman (II); his son

12. Nandivarman; issued the Udayendiram grant.
-

13. Candadāṇḍa, who came into conflict with the Kadamba king Ravivarman about the first quarter of the sixth century. *Candadāṇḍa* may have been the *biruda* of No. 12 or possibly of one of his three successors mentioned in the Vayalur grant (Nos. 45-47).

14. Siṃhavarman; ¹ his son

15. Siṃhaviṣṇu; his son

16. Mahendravarman I; ascended the throne about A.D. 600.

may notice that the Vayalur record places a Skandavarman between Buddhavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu II and it may be conjectured that this Skandavarman was a son of Kumāraviṣṇu I, who was made a viceroy of the northern part of the Pallava kingdom and eventually carved out a principality there. In the Omguda grant No. 1 Skandavarman I, son of Kumāraviṣṇu, has been called *an-aiy adhipati-rāṇa*, which epithet may support the above suggestion.

¹ It is doubtful whether Siṃhavarman, grandfather of Mahendravarman I, ruled at Eṭṭai.

VI

SIVASKANDAVARMAN AND SKANDAVARMAN

The earliest known Pallava king is Śivaskandavarman who issued the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants. In the latter grant Śivaskandavarman refers to his father as Mahārāja'-bappasāmi. Bühler (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 8, note 15) and following him many other scholars think that *Bappa* is probably the name of Śivaskandavarman's father; and in this connection Fleet's article in *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 372, is referred to. *Bappa* of course may signify a personal name as we find this name in the list of recipients of the gift recorded in the Hirahadagalli grant itself.¹ We must however remember that in many early copper-plate grants including some belonging to the Pallavas, the kings called themselves *bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakta*, "devoted to the feet of the lord, the father." The word *bappa* there means "father" and cannot be a personal name, as the fathers of those kings are definitely known to have borne names having no connection with the word *bappa*. It must also be noted that the traditional lists of early Pallava kings do not mention any name

¹ In connection with the title *Mahārāja* of Śivaskandavarman's father, it should be noticed that Śivaskandavarman himself is called *paramahārāja* in the Mayidavolu grant. He assumed however the more dignified title *Dharma-Mahārāja* when he became king. At the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to determine what relations Śivaskandavarman had with Northern India and how this North Indian title was adopted by him. The celebration of the *Advantika* possibly suggests that Śivaskandavarman added new territories to the kingdom that was left by his father.

² Cf. *Bappa*, the name of the progenitor of the Gubhila of Mewar, and also the names *Bappadaman* in the Rurur grant of Kadamba Virgavarman (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) and *Bappasāmi* in the Sidhapur grant of Bhaskaravarman (*Kāmarūpāsāstrāṇ*, p. 21).

even slightly resembling *Bappa*. *Bappa* therefore cannot be taken as the name of Śivaskandavarman's father without further evidence.

At the time of Śivaskandavarman the Pallava kingdom of Kāñcī certainly included the Andhra country in the north and the Bellary district in the north-west. From the Penukonda plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhava we know that about the middle of the fifth century the Gaṅgas of Mysore acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. It is possible that this region was under the Pallavas as early as the time of Śivaskandavarman who was the most powerful king among the early Pallavas. This suggestion seems to be supported by the Talgunda inscription according to which the early Kadambas of Banavāsi (a place to the west of Mysore) also acknowledged Pallava supremacy.¹ Mayūrasarman, the first king of the Kadamba family, is there said to have been installed by the Pallava king of Kāñcī. According to the Talgunda inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff.) Mayūrasarman received the *paṭṭabandha-saṃyāja* as well as the land between the western sea and the Prehāra from the Pallava king of Kāñcī (*cf. saṃśritas = tadā*

¹ According to the Talgunda inscription of Kadamba Śāntivarman, Mayūrasarman went to Kāñcī for studying the Vedas. There he took part in the *paṭṭabandha-saṃyāja*, became enraged at the treatment he received there, and then, having trained himself to warlike exercises, easily overpowered the Pallava frontier guards and established himself at Śrīparvata (in the Kurnool district). The Pallava king took the field against him; but being unable to subdue him installed him as king over the territory extending from the Western Ocean (Arabian sea) to the Prehāra (river?). But what is the meaning of *paṭṭabandha-saṃyāja*? According to the lexicon *Trikaṇḍaśikṣā*, the word *saṃyāja* means *kratu*, i. e., sacrifice (*cf. saṃyajah saṃśritī-kratuḥ carat = ca nija-rāṣṭragāḥ*, verse 753). May then the word *paṭṭabandha-saṃyāja* mean Horse-sacrifice? See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 354 ff. If this explanation is acceptable, it would appear that the quarrel of Mayūrasarman with the Pallavas arose in connection with an *Āśvamedha* sacrifice. Among the Early Pallavas only Śivaskandavarman and Kumaraviṣṇu of the Oṅgode (No. 1) grant are known to have performed the Horse-sacrifice. Mayūrasarman was possibly a contemporary of one of these kings. The discovery of Śivaskandavarman's grant at Hirabadagalli in the borders of Kuntala appears to settle the question. It is possible that at the time of Śivaskandavarman the Pallava kingdom extended up to the Arabian sea in the west. See *infra*.

mahipālān = *ārādhya yuddhyeṣu cikramaiḥ prāpa paṭṭabandha-sampūjān karapallavaiḥ pallacair* = *dhṛtām, bhaṅgur-ormmi-calgūtair* = *uṣṭyad-aparārṇav-āmbhaḥ-kṛtācadhiṃ prehārān-tām* = *ananya-saṅcarāṇa-samaya-sthītām bhūmim* = *eva ca*). This Mayūraśarman cannot be placed long after Śivaskandavarman. We have seen that Śivaskandavarman ruled in the beginning of the fourth century, while scholars place Mayūraśarman about the middle of the same century (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 95-96; *Kaṭambakula*, p. 19). Indeed the Prakrit language of the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50) shows that this Kadamba king ruled a little later than the accession of Śivaskandavarman. The use of *ś* (1.1) and the numerous double consonants like *mm* (1, 1), *tr*, *ll* (1, 2), *sth*, *nd* (1, 3), etc., appears to prove that the Chandravalli inscription was engraved some time after the execution of the Mayidavolu and Hiraṇḍagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman. He can therefore be rightly placed about the middle of the fourth century. A.D.

I. The Mayidavolu grant was issued from Kāmeṣṭhūr by the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman (= Śivaskandavarman) on the fifth lunar day of the sixth fortnight of summer in the tenth year of the reigning Pallava king who was almost certainly the father of the Yuvamahārāja, but whose name is not mentioned in the grant. By this grant the Pallava crown-prince, for the increase of his victory, religious merit and strength, offered with libation of water, the village of Viripāra situated in the Andhāpata (= Andhrāpata) to two Brāhmanas, Puvakeṭṭuja and Gonamdiṇa, who belonged to the Agniveśya gotra. The executor of the grant was Śivaskandavarman himself, and the order was accordingly sent to the *vāpata* (*vyāpṛta*), i.e., governor, of Dhamṇakada (Dhānyakaṭaka). Dhamṇakada which has been identified by different scholars with Dharapikōṭa, Amarāvati, Bezvāḍa and Nāgarjunikōṭa, was

evidently the headquarters of the Andhra province incorporated in the Pallava kingdom. To the village of Viripāra were granted all the immunities enjoyed by the Brahmadeyas.¹ The word brahmadeya therefore means not only "a *deya* (grant) to Brāhmaṇas," but like the technical terms *brahmatrā*, *devatrā*, *derasāt*, etc., signifies a religious donation which implied certain immunities. Of the immunities or *parihāras*, the following only are specified in the Mayidavolu grant :—(1) *a-loṇa-khādaka*, (2) *a-raṭha-saṃvinayika*, (3) *a-paramparā-balicadha*, (4) *a-bhada-paresa*, and (5) *a-kūra-colaḥa-cināsi-khaṭā-saṃvāsa*.

A-loṇa-khādaka is, as already noticed, Sanskrit *a-lavaṇa-khātaka*; by this immunity the grantor gave up the royal right of digging salt in the village granted. About the next *parihāra* Senart says (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 68), "The word seems to represent *arāṣṭrasaṃvinayika*, but etymology alone is an unsafe guide in the interpretation of technical terms. *Vineli* is only used in a moral sense. Could we think of translating 'exempted from the police, the magistrate of the district (*rāṣṭra*; compare Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32 note), or of a *rāṣṭrin*?' This would remind us of those grants in which, on the other hand, it is stated that the right to punish the 'ten offences' (*sadaśāparādha*; see, e.g., the Alina plates; 1.67 in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 179 and the Deo-Baranark inscription, 1.17; *ibid.*, p. 217) is transferred to the donee." *A-paramparā-balicadha* has been called *a-paramparā-balicadda-gahana* in the Hirabadnagalli grant and has been translated by Bühler as "free from the taking of the oxen in succession." This *parihāra* seems to

¹ According to Kauṭilya's *Arthasastra* (Bhamaswamy's 2nd ed., p. 47), "those who perform sacrifices (*śraita*), spiritual guides (*śāstrya*), priests (*purohita*) and those learned in the Vedas (*śāstrya*) shall be granted Brahmadeya lands yielding sufficient produce (*labhikaṇa-dānaka*) and exempted from taxes and fines (*a dāṇa-kara*)."
Brahmadeya is also mentioned when Kauṭilya says (II, 20) that the *śaṣṭa* (rod) of 8 cubits (192 *angulas*) in length was used in measuring Brahmadeya and *Ārīṭhya* lands.

suggest that the villagers had to supply bullocks for the bullock-carts used by royal officers when the latter went on tour through the country. *A-bhāḍa-pucesa*, as we have already noticed, implies that no troops would enter the village of Viripāra and cause disturbances. Battles therefore could not be fought on the fields of this village. The next *parihāra* is very important. According to Hultzsch, *kūra* means "boiled rice" and *colaka* (*collaka* of the Hira-hadagalli grant) is the same as *cullakī*, i.e., pot. The word *vināsi* has not as yet been explained. Possibly it means "fuel." The words *khaṭā* and *samvāsa*, respectively, mean "cot" and "dwelling." This *parihāra* then implies exemption from the obligation of supplying boiled rice, water-pots, *vināsi*, cots and dwellings to the officers who visited the place. In this connection it is interesting to note the views of Manu (VII, 115-119). According to this law-giver, the king must appoint a headman called *grāmika* over each village, a *daśin* or *daś-śa* over each unit of ten villages, a *vimśat-śa* or *viśat-śa* over each unit of twenty villages, a *śat-śa* over each unit of hundred villages and a *sahasr-ādhipati* over each unit of thousand villages. As remuneration, the head of thousand villages should enjoy a city, that of hundred villages a village, that of twenty villages five *kulas* of land, that of ten villages one *kula* (= *kulyavāpa* = Bengali *kuroba*, i.e., *Bighā*?) of land, but

*yāni rāja-pradeyāni pratyaham grāma-vāsibhiḥ,
anna-pān-indhan-ādāni grāmikas = tān = apāpnūyāt.*

"The headman of the village should get all of what is daily payable by the villagers to the king in the shape of food (*anna*), drink (*pāna*) fuel and other things (*indhan-ādī*)." By the above *parihāra* then the village would appear to have been exempted from its dues to the *grāmika*. But *khaṭā* (cot) and *samvāsa* (dwelling) should possibly have been required by officers who came to the village on

tour, the *grāmika* being probably more or less a settled inhabitant of the village. In connection with this *parihāra* we must also refer to line 8 of the Kudgere grant of Kadamba Māndhātṛvarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12) where the immunity is mentioned as *a-khaṭvā-vās-andana*, "exempt from (the duty of providing) cots, abodes and boiled rice."¹

The villagers of Viripāra and the royal officials are asked to exempt the village and to cause it to be exempted with all the above *parihāras*. It is also said that one who would transgress the royal edict and would give or cause to be given any trouble or annoyance to the donees, on him the royal authority should inflict bodily punishment.

The ends of the ring that holds the plates together are secure in an elliptical seal which bears in relief "an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a bull,"² as it has a hump on its back—and below it the legend *śivaśka(nda)varmaṇaḥ* (?) in an alphabet which appears to be slightly different from that of the inscription" (*ibid*, p. 84). The seals seem to have been kept ready in the record-office and were attached to a set of copper-plates when the latter was prepared.

At the beginning of the Mayidavolu grant, there is the word *dīṭham*, i.e., "has been seen," exactly as on the last plate of the Hirahadagalli grant. This possibly refers to

¹ A Tamil record of A.D. 1400 refers to revenue in rice (*śakala-bhaṭṭa-dāṇa*), and another of 1340 mentions "all the revenue in paddy excluding tolls and the small tax for the village police and including the three handfuls of paddy; the rice in Kārttika"; etc. (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, pp. 82, 83).

² The crest of the Pallavas was a bull (*śṛabha-lācchana*), evidently intended for Nandin the servant and carrier of Śiva. The bull appears on the seals of Pallava copperplate grants, sometimes recumbent and sometimes standing. The banner of the Pallavas was the *khaṭvāṅga-dhvaṇa*, i.e., banner bearing the representation of a club with a skull at its top. Sometimes the bull is described as the banner of the Pallavas. Śiva seems to have been the family god of the dynasty (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319 and note).

a practice of examining the grants after the copying of the plates from a set kept in the king's record-office.

II. Hirabadāgalli is a place near the western border of the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. The copper-plate grant discovered there was issued from Kāncīpura on the fifth day of the sixth fortnight of rainy season in the 8th year of the Pallava Dharma-mahārājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman who is said to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and is credited with the performance of the Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices. As we have already suggested, the celebration of Aśvamedha by Śivaskandavarman seems to speak of the success of the Pallavas against the Ikṣvāku and other neighbouring powers. By this record the king granted a garden situated in the southern boundary of a village called Cillarekakoṇṭuka as a *parihāra*, i.e., an honorary grant (see *Manusamhitā*, VII, 201). Two *niṣṭānas* of land were also granted in a village called Āpitti, one for a threshing floor and the other for a house, along with four *Addhikās* and two *Kolikās*. The grant was made in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas, the chief among whom was Agisamāja (= Agniśarmāya). *Addhikā* (= *ārḍhikā*), according to Bühler, is "a labourer receiving half the produce." It has been referred to in the Ellore grant of Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman as *addhiya-manussa* (see also *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, I. 166). *Kolikā*, as Bühler says (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 9, note), "corresponds to Sanskrit *Kaulikāḥ* and may mean 'weavers.' But it is also possible to think of the well-known tribe of the Kolis who are slaves."

The village of Cillarekakoṇṭuka, as also possibly Āpitti, was situated in the Sātāhani-raṭṭha (Sātavāhaniya-raṭṭra) which is evidently the same as Sātavāhani-hāra mentioned in the Myakadoni inscription of Pulamaivi (*ibid.*, XIV, p. 153) and corresponds roughly to the present Bellary district. The garden of Cillarekakoṇṭuka is said to have been

originally granted by Sivaskandavarman's father. This part of the old Sātavāhana empire was therefore occupied by the Pallavas as early as the time of that king, that is to say, before *circa* 300 A.D.

The following officials, employed in the different parts of the *vijaya*, have been mentioned in connection with the observance of immunities: (1) Rājakumāra, (2) Senāpati, (3) Raṭṭhika, (4) Māḍavika, (5) Desādhikata, (6) Gāmāgāmabhojaka, (7) Vallava, (8) Govallava, (9) Amacca, (10) Ārakhādhikata, (11) Gumika, (12) Tūthika and (13) Neyika. Along with these are also mentioned (14) the Samcarantakas and (15) the Bhāḍamanusas who might be sent by the king to the villages in order to execute any commission (*ahma-pesanap-payutta*). Rājakumāra seems to refer to princes who possibly acted as viceroys of the king. Senāpati is obviously "leader of the army." The word *raṭṭhika* is equivalent to Sanskrit *rāṣṭrika*, i.e., governor of a *rāṣṭra*. As regards the next term, Bühler says (*ibid*, I, p. 7, note), "I consider the correction *māḍavika* as certain and take the word *maṇḍaba* or *maṇḍapa*, from which it has been derived, in the sense of modern *māṇḍavī*, 'custom-house.'" Leumann however thinks that *māḍavika* is the same as *māḍambika*, i.e., "chief of a *maḍamba* district," and Raychaudhuri translates it as "burgomaster." *Desādhikata* (= *deśādhikṛta*) is "ruler of a *deśa*." Gāmāgāmabhojaka has been translated by Bühler as "freeholders of various villages." This meaning of the word *bhojaka* is supported by its use in line 8 of the Hirahadagalli grant itself where the donees are called *cillarekakodumku-bhojaka*. In justifying the form *gāmāgāmabhojaka*, Fausbøll points out that repetitions of the same word with a lengthening of the final vowel of the first are commonly used in Pali in order to indicate *vīpā* (*loc. cit.*, p. 7, note). According to Amara, the word *vallava* means *gopa* which is obviously the same as *go-vallava* of this inscription. *Vallava* there-

fore seems to be the same as *callabha* which is so common in early South Indian inscriptions and is according to Jaṭādhara, the same as *āśva-rakṣa* (keeper of horses). Bühler has translated the two terms as "herdsmen" and "cowherds" respectively. *Amacca* is evidently the same as Sanskrit *amātya*, "minister." Leumann thinks that *ārakhādhikata* (= *ārakṣādhikṛta*) means "employed as a guard." Bühler however read the word as *āraṇādhikata* and translated it as "foresters." *Gumika* (= *gaulmika*) is evidently "head of a *gulma* (outpost of soldiers)." According to Manu (VII, V, 114), a king must place a *gulma* in the centre of two, three, five or hundred villages in order to protect his kingdom (see also Manu, VII, 190; and *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155). According to Bühler, *Tāthika* may be connected with Prakrit *tāha*, "tīrtha," and possibly means "overseers of fords or of bathing places." With *neyika* may be compared the word *naiyyoka* of the Uruvupalli grant, which Fleet changed to *niyukta* (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 52). Bühler thinks that *naiyyoka* is a mistake for *naiyika*, which would exactly correspond to *neyika*, and that both the terms are corruptions of Sanskrit *nāyaka*, which is commonly pronounced *naieka* and seems to mean a military officer of the rank of corporal or sergeant (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 8, note 13). It however seems to me that neither Fleet nor Bühler is justified in the interpretation of *neyika*. *Naiyyoka* of the Uruvupalli grant is evidently a mistake for *naiyogika* which word we find in the Chendalur grant of Kumāraviṣṇu II (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 233). The word is derived from *niyoga* and is evidently the same as *niyogin* which, according to Hemachandra, is synonymous with *karmasaciva*, *āyukta* and *vyāpṛta*. A *vyāpṛta* is known from the Kondaṁudi grant to have been ruler of an *āhāra* and an *āyukta* is mentioned in an inscription of Budhagupta as a *viṣṇu-pati* (*ibid.*, XV, p. 139). *Naiyogika* (or *niyogin*) may there-

fore be supposed to have been the ruler of some territorial division. The *sañcarantakas* are "spies" (see Manu, VII. 122) and the *bhaṭa-manuṣṣyas* are "soldiers."

The grant is said to have been confirmed by libation of water (*udakādīp*)¹ and made valid as long as the moon and stars endure (*a-candā-tārakālīka kātūnaṃ*). All the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* were granted. The inhabitants of the *viṣaya*, specially those of Āpitti and Cillarekakodumka, were ordered to observe the *parihāras* and to see that they were observed by others. The king says, "Now, if anybody, knowing this, proud of being a favourite of the king, should cause or cause to be caused a smaller obstacle to the donees, him, forsooth, we shall restrain by punishment. And further I pray both the future great warriors of our Pallava race who may rule within a period exceeding one hundred thousand years, as well as kings differing from us in descent, saying unto them: 'To him among you blessings, who in his time makes the people act according to the rule written above. But he who acts contrary to it shall be the lowest of men loaded with the guilt of the five mortal sins.'"

Of the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* the grant specifies the following: (1) *a-kūra-collaka-rinesi-khaṭṭa-cāsa*, (2) *a-dudha-dadhi-gaḥaṇa*, (3) *a-raṭṭha-saṃvinayika* (4) *a-loṇa-guḷa-cchobha*, (5) *a-kara-veṭṭhi-koṃjāla*, (6) *a-paramparā-balivadda-gaḥaṇa*, (7) *a-taṇa-khaṭṭha-gaḥaṇa*, and (8) *a-harītaka-sāka-pupha-gaḥaṇa*. The first *parihāra* has already been explained in connection with the Maidavolu grant. The next *parihāra*, viz., *a-dudha-dadhi-gaḥaṇa*, made the village free from the obligation of supplying sweet and sour milk, and appears to fall under the category of *pāna*, daily payable by the villagers to the *grāmika* (see

¹ As regards this custom, cf. Agni Purāṇa, ch. 209. 49-50:—

dhruvasya nāma gṛhṇiyād-dadān-iti tatthā vadet,
tegaro dadāt tato kaste dāne vidhāt-ayam smṛitah.

Manu quoted above). *A-raṭṭha-saṃvinayika* has been explained. *A-loṇa-guḍa-cchobha* (*a-larāṇa-guḍa-līṣobha*) has been translated by Bühler as "free from troubles about salt and sugar." That digging pits for extracting salt was a royal monopoly is known from a number of inscriptions which refer to *parihāras* like *a-loṇa-khādaka* (*a-larāṇa-khātaka*), *a-larāṇa-kreṇī-khanaka* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, line 28, No. 55, and No. 56) and *sa-loha-larāṇ-ākara* (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 101). The word *guḍa*, mentioned along with *loṇa*, shows that the manufacture of sugar was also a royal monopoly. The following immunity exempted the village from the obligation of supplying grass and wood (*cf. indhana* in the passage quoted from Manu). The last *parihāra* of the list seems to signify exemption from the (occasional) supply of myrobalan, vegetables and flowers. Bühler says (*ibid.*, I, p. 8, note 28), "Milk, grass, fire-wood, vegetables and so forth had to be furnished gratis by the villagers to royal officers and their servants. The custom still prevails in many native states" (see also Manu quoted above).

The grant was executed by the king himself and the plates were prepared in the handwriting of his privy-councillor (*rahasyādhiprta*) Bhaṭṭisamma who was the *bhojaka* (*i.e., ināmdār*) of Kolivāla.

The Hirshadagalli plates are held together by a ring to which an almost circular and somewhat battered seal, about an inch in diameter, is attached. The emblem on the seal is an animal facing the proper right, which, according to Bühler, may be intended for a deer or a horse.¹ Below the emblem stands the word *Sivaskandavarmanah*, the last three letters of which are defaced and doubtful. It is certain that the legend on the seal was written in Sanskrit like the *māṅgala* at the end of the

¹ The animal is most probably a bull which was the crest of the Pallavas (see *Bamb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319, note 5).

inscription which reads *svasti go-brāhmaṇa-lekhaka-vācaka-śrotṛbhya(h) iti*. This along with the fact that the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants sometimes express compound consonants by more than one letter shows that these two grants were executed at a time when Sanskrit had already made its way in the field of South Indian epigraphy.

III. The British Museum plates appear to have been originally found at Kondakur in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. They were issued in the reign of *sirivijaya-Khandavarman* (= Skandavarman). We have already discussed about the identification of Sivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants and Skandavarman of the British Museum grant and have shown that the identification is extremely doubtful.

The donor of the grant is *Cārudevī*, wife (*devī*) of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman and mother of a prince whose name has been conjecturally read by Hultzsch as Buddhyāntura. The relation of Mahārāja Skandavarman and Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman is not specified in the grant. There is no evidence that this prince, who seems to have been a provincial governor,¹ ascended the throne. Skandavarman is not known to have ruled at Kāñcī. It is possible that he was an early member of the Pallava house of the Nellore-Guntur region and was an ancestor of Skandavarman II of the Oṃgodu grant (No. 1). He may possibly be identified with king No. 29 (or No. 32 ?) of the Vayaḷur list (see Appendix below).

By this grant *Cārudevī* seems to have addressed the villagers and officials at Kaṭaka (Kaṭaka) to the effect that a certain field to be ploughed by *Ātuka* on the western side of the drinking well below the *rāja-taḍāga*, containing four *nivartanas* of land, had been given by her highness for the

¹ Buddhavarman may not be the king of the same name mentioned in the Chendalur grant. Buddhavarman of the Chendalur grant seems to be of later date.

increase of her highness's life and power, to the god Nārāyaṇa of the Kuḷi-mahātaraka temple at Dālura. This *Kuḷi-mahātaraka-devakula* appears to signify a temple established by a Mahattara named Kuḷi. The villagers and officials were asked to exempt the field with all immunities and to cause it to be exempted. The executor of the grant was Rohanigutta (Rohinīgupta).

The most interesting feature of the grant is that though it is written in Prakrit, it contains two unprecatory verses (*bahubhir=vasudhā dattā* etc.) which are in Sanskrit and are so common in the Sanskrit copper-plate grants. This fact and the fact that the grant expresses compound consonants, in all cases, with more than one letter, appear to suggest that the British Museum grant is slightly later than the grants of Sivaskandavarman.

The seal of Skandavarman attached to the British Museum grant bears a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull, the crest of the Pallavas (*cf. Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 319, note 5), and, over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 144).

CHENDALUR GRANT OF KUMĀRAVIṢṢU II

The Chendalur grant was issued from *vijaya-Kāñcīpura* on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika in the 2nd regnal year of the Pallava king Kumāraviṣṣu II, who was the son of Mahārāja Buddhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Kumāraviṣṣu I and great-grandson of Mahārāja Skandavarman. Kumāraviṣṣu I and his son Buddhavarman have possibly been mentioned in the Velurpalaiyam record (see *above*, p. 160). Like Skandavarman II (of the Uruvupalli, Omgodu No. 2, and Pīkīra grants), Kumāraviṣṣu I has been described as the fifth *loka-pāla*. In the *Mahābhārata* (see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 149) and the Nanaghat cave inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1112) the gods Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava are called the four *loka-pālas* or guardians of the world. The description of a king as the fifth *loka-pāla* means to say that he was a protector of the earth like those four gods. In classical literature (*e.g.*, *Raghu*, II, 16) a king is called *madhyama-loka-pāla*, "protector of the middle world (*i.e.*, the earth)." In this connection it is interesting to note the description of Samudragupta as "equal to (the gods) Dhanada (= Kubera), Varuṇa, Indra (= Vāsava who is however different from Indra in the Nanaghat record) and Antaka (= Yama) ; see *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 14n., 250.¹

Like many other Pallava rulers, Kumāraviṣṣu II calls himself *kaliyuga-doṣ-āvasanna-dharm-oddharṇa-nitya-sanna-ddha*. This epithet is also used by Viṣṇugopavarman and Simhavarman, and Nandivarman of the Udayendiram grant. The Pallava kings thus appear to have boasted of being called "Defender of Faith;" and the epithet possibly refers to the fact that they were determined to purify their

¹ Sometimes the quarter-guardians are said to be eight. According to Amara, the *dik-patis* are Indra (east), Vāhni (south-east), Pītyasi, *i.e.*, Yama (south), Nalīpta (south-west), Varuṇa (west), Maruṭ (north-west), Kubera (north) and Iṣa (north-east).

Brahmanical faith which was influenced by heretical doctrines like Buddhism at the time of the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus. Kumāraviṣṇu II has some epithets in common with Viṣṇugopavarman of the Uruvupalli grant. Like Viṣṇugopa and his son Sindhavarman, he is called *bhagavat-pād-ānudhyātā* and *parama-bhāgavata*, and like the records of those two princes the Chendalur grant begins with the adoration *jītaṃ bhagavatā*. He was evidently a Vaiṣṇava in faith.

The record is an order to the villagers of Cendalūra in the Karmākarāṣṭra and to all the *naiyogikas* and *vallabhas* employed there. Chendalur, the find-spot of the inscription, is a place in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district. Hultzsch has corrected Karmākarāṣṭra as Karmarāṣṭra known from several inscriptions. The form Karmākarāṣṭra seems to be the same as Kamakarāṭha mentioned in a Nagarjunikonda inscription.

The word *naiyogika* is derived from *niyoga* and is evidently the same as *niyogin* which appears to mean "governor of a district" (cf. *niyogī karmasaciva āyukto cyāpyrtaś = ca saḥ*, Hemacandra). *Vallabha* means either the king's favourites or keepers of the royal cattle.

It is said that there were eight hundred *paṭṭikās* (pieces) of *khās* land (*rāja-vastu bhutā sthitaṃ*) in the village of Cendalūra, and that by this grant the king offered 432 *paṭṭikās* out of that land as a Brahmadeya (*brahmadeya-maryādayā*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhavaskandatrāta¹ who belonged to the Kaundinya gotra and the Chāndogya sūtra. The lands given did not include what was previously granted for the enjoyment of gods (*devabhoga-hala-varjjaṃ*). The grant was executed with a hope for the increase of

¹According to Yama quoted in *Sādhakapadrana*, a. v. *śarmā* (cf. *śarmā devaś = ca riprasya sarvāś trātaś ca bhūbhogaś*, etc.), Bhavaskandatrāta can not be the proper name of a Brāhmaṇa.

the king's longevity, strength, victory and wealth, in accordance with the *hala-nyāya* (laws regarding the *halas*, like *devahala*, *bhikṣuhala*, etc.) and was made immune with all the *parihāras*.

The villagers and officers were ordered to observe the immunities and to see that others observed them. People who would violate this order have been threatened with physical punishment. The charter ends with the *maṅgala* : *go-brāhmaṇa* (sic) *nandatu*, *svasty* = *astu prajābhyah*, which reminds us of a similar *maṅgala* at the end of the Hira-hadagalli grant of Śivaskandavarman.

The word *paṭṭikā* ordinarily means "a piece of cloth;" on analogy, it seems to mean "a piece of land." We do not know whether *paṭṭikā* here signifies a particular land-measure like the *niṣartana*. The land is said to have been situated in the Kavacakāra-bhoga of the Karmmakarāṣṭra. *Bhoga* is evidently the same as *bhukti* of North Indian inscriptions. It signifies a territorial unit like "district." Cf. Pallava-bhoga (Kāñcī?) mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 111).

VIII

UDAYENDIRAM GRANT (No. 1) OF NANDIVARMAN

The Udayendiram grant was issued from Kāñcīpura on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha possibly in the first year of the Pallava king Nandivarman, son of Skandavarman II, grandson of Simhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman I. Like the issuers of other early Pallava charters, Nandivarman is called *kaliyuga-doṣ-ācasannadharma-oddha-raṇa-nitya-sannaddha*. His epithets *bhagavat-pād-anudhyāta* and *parama-bhāgarata* together with the fact that his grant begins with the adoration *jītaṃ bhagavatā*, show that he was a Vaiṣṇava like Viṣṇugopa, Simhavarman and KumāraViṣṇu II.

Udayendiram, the find-spot of Nandivarman's grant, is a place in the North Arcot district. The grant is full of textual mistakes; the characters moreover do not belong to the early Pallava period. According to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 143), the grant is to be palaeographically assigned to about A.D. 680; according to Fleet however it was fabricated about 935 A.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 321 n.) But the facts that the four kings mentioned in it are given exactly in the same order in the Vayalur record and that the style and phraseology of the grant are very similar to those of the early Pallava records, seem to prove that the grant was copied, though by an incompetent scribe, from an early genuine record.

By this grant, the Pallava king Nandivarman offered four pieces of *āraṇya* land at Kāñcīvāyil-grāma in Adeyāra-rāṣṭra, according to *pūrva-bhoga-maryādā*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kuḷacarman (= Kuḷācarman) who was an

inhabitant of Kāñcivāyil and belonged to the Kauśika gotra, Pravacana sūtra and Taittirīya carana. The lands were granted in accordance with Brahmadeya-maryādā, with all the immunities but with the exception of *detabhoga-hala*, for the increase of the king's longevity, strength, victory and wealth. It is said that the four pieces of forest-land in Kāñcivāyil-grāma are to be made immune with all the *parihāras* and that anyone who would violate the order should be physically punished.

The seal of Nandivarman attached to the Udayendiram grant is circular. It contains in bas-relief the figure of a standing bull facing the proper left. There is a much worn and illegible inscription at the margin (*loc. cit.*).

IX

OMGODU GRANT (No. 1) OF SKANDAVARMAN II

In the Omgodu grant (No. 1) of Skandavarman II, the reigning king's great-grandfather, Kumāra-*viṣṇu*, has been called *aśvamedha-yājī*, i.e., performer of the Horse-sacrifice. He was therefore a great king who was possibly a successor of Virakorecavarman of the Darsi plate.

Kumāra-*viṣṇu* was succeeded by his son Skandavarman I who is mentioned in the Omgodu (No. 1) and Uruvpalli grants. He is said to have been a *parama-brahmaṇya*; but his most significant epithet seems to be *sva-vīry-ādhiḡata-rāja*, which means to say that he obtained the kingdom by his own valour. His father was a powerful king who performed the great *aśvamedha* sacrifice. The significance of this epithet, as I have already pointed out, may be that after the death of Kumāra-*viṣṇu*, Skandavarman I quarrelled with his brother who was probably Kumāra-*viṣṇu*'s successor at Kāñcī, and carved out a separate principality in the northern part of the Pallava kingdom. Kumāra-*viṣṇu*'s successor at Kāñcī was possibly Buddhavarman mentioned in the Chendalur grant. We cannot however be definite as regards this suggestion, as the identification of this Kumāra-*viṣṇu* with Kumāra-*viṣṇu* I of the Chendalur grant is very doubtful.

The son and successor of Skandavarman I was Vīra-*varman* who has been called "the sole hero in the world" in all the inscriptions. He was possibly a warrior of considerable importance. According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 249), this Vīra-*varman* is to be identified with Virakorecavarman of the Darsi plate. Darsi, identified by

some scholars with Daśanapura, is a place in the Podili division of the Nellore district. Only the first plate of the Darsi grant has been discovered; it was edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 357. The grant was issued from the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the victorious Daśanapura by a Pallava king whose name and genealogy cannot be known until the missing plates of the grant are found. Only the name of Virakoreavarman, the great-grandfather of the issuer, is known. The Sanskrit form of the word is *Virakūrca* which is found in the Vayalur and Velurpalaiyam records. The use of this Prakritised name appears to show that the grant was issued at a time when Prakrit was still lingering in the field of South Indian epigraphy. The identification of this king with Viravarman however seems to me doubtful, since these two distinct forms (*viz.*, *Virakūrca* and *Viravarman*) are found as names of different kings in the Vayalur list of early Pallava kings. Virakorea of the Darsi plate may be the same as (the second) *Virakūrca* of the Vayalur list.

Viravarman was succeeded by his son who is called *śrī-vijaya*-Skandavarman in his own Omgodu grant (No. 1), but simply Skandavarman in the inscriptions of his descendants. He has some epithets in common with Kumāra-*viṣṇu* I of the Chendalur grant and also with Skandavarman II of the Udayendiram grant. Like Kumāra-*viṣṇu* I of the Chendalur grant he is described as the fifth *loka-pāla*. Though he is not called *parama-bhāgavata*, his epithet *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-sambhāvita-sarva-kalyāṇa* in the grants of his grandson shows that he was a Vaiṣṇava.

The Omgodu grant (No. 1) was issued from the victorious city of Tambrāpa in the 33rd regnal year of Skandavarman II, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the third Hemanta-pakṣa. This form of dating resembles that used in the early Prakrit grants and is remarkably different from the form of dating used in the Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas. It therefore shows that Skandavarman II ruled

not long after the kings of the Prakrit charters. We have already shown that some parts of the Mayidavolu, Hirahadagalli and British Museum grants are written in Sanskrit and that the issuers of those grants could not have ruled long before the kings who issued the Sanskrit grants. We have also suggested that the Sanskrit grants showing considerable Prakrit influence may roughly be placed in the period between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D.¹

By this grant the king made a Brahmadeya of the village of Omgodu in the Karmarāstra, and offered the same with the exception of the *devabhoga-hala*, in a form of *sātteika-dāna*, to a *dvī-veda* and *śaḍaṅga-pāraṅga* Brāhmaṇa named Golaśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra. The Karmarāstra in which Omgodu was situated has been taken to be the same as Kamma-nāḍu of later Telugu inscriptions and has been identified with the northern part of Nellore and southern part of Guntur. According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 254), Omgodu may be the same as modern Ongole, the head quarters of the Ongole taluka of the Guntur district. Of the boundaries of Omgodu given in the Omgodu grant (No. 2) of Simhavarman, Koḍikiṇṇ may be identical with modern Kopiki near Ongole and Penukaparru may be the same as Pinukkiparu mentioned as the family name of certain Brāhmaṇas who were recipients of a village called Tanḍantottam near Kumbakonam (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, pp. 519, 532).

¹ The early form of the date used by the Vijayakundins appears to be due to conservatism inherited from their original home. It should however be noticed that two grants of the Kadamba kings Mugeśvarman and Ravivarman who ruled about the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century are dated in the old fashion. One is dated in the 4th year of Mugeśvarman on the full-moon day of the 8th fortnight of Vargā (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 37-38), and the other in the 11th year of Ravivarman on the 10th tithi of the 6th fortnight of Hemanta (*ibid.*, VI, p. 283). This old way of expressing dates in such a late period appears to be due to Jain influence. See below.

The seal of Skandavarman II attached to the Omgodu grant (No. 1) is almost circular. It is totally worn away, and has no trace of any symbols, "though it may be presumed to have had on it originally the recumbent bull, as in the case of other Pallava grants" (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 249).

CROWN-PRINCE VIṢṆUGOPA AND DHARMAMAHARAJA
SĪMHAVARMAN

Viṣṇugopa or Viṣṇugopavarman, son of Skandavarman II, did not ascend the throne. His Uruvupalli grant was issued in the 11th year of the reign of Mahārāja Sīmhavarman. As we have already seen, Fleet thought that this Sīmhavarman was an elder brother of the Yuvamahārāja (or Yuvarāja) Viṣṇugopavarman. Hultzsch, however, suggests that he is no other than Viṣṇugopa's son who issued the Omgodu (No. 2), Pikira and Mangalur grants. According to the latter view therefore the Pallava throne passed from Skandavarman II directly to his grandson Sīmhavarman.

In the Uruvupalli grant Viṣṇugopavarman calls himself *prajā-saṃrañjana-paripālan-odyoga-satata-satra- vrata- dīkṣita* and *rājarṣi-guṇa-sarva-sandoha-vijigīṣu*, which he could not have said if he was not a ruler of subjects. As a crown-prince he was possibly in charge of a district of the Pallava kingdom. The district of which he was the governor probably had its head quarters at Palakkada from where the Uruvupalli grant was issued. As we have already noted, both Viṣṇugopa and his son Sīmhavarman are called *parama-bhāgavata* in the inscriptions, all of which begins with the adoration : *jītaṃ bhagavatā*. They were evidently Vaiṣṇava. In this connection, the name *Viṣṇugopa* and the dedication of 200 *niṣartanas* of land (595 acres according to Kauṭilya, but 148·6 acres according to his commentator ; see *below*) to the god Viṣṇuhāra may also be noted.

In all the inscriptions of Viṣṇugopa and Siṃhavarman, the Pallavas have been credited with the performance of many *aśvamedhas* or many *kratus* and this evidently refers to the *aśvamedha* performed by their ancestor Kumāraviṣṇu. So far we know only of two Pallava kings who performed the Horse-sacrifice. The first of them is Sivaskandavarman of the Mayīdavolu and Hirahadagalli grants, and the second is Kumāraviṣṇu, grandfather of Skandavarman II who issued the Omgodu grant (No. 1). The former is also credited with the performance of the Agniṣṭoma and Vājapeya sacrifices.

In the Omgodu grant (No. 2) of Siṃhavarman, the Pallavas have been referred to as *vallabha* which is evidently the same as *śrī-vallabha* of the Mangalur grant. It is interesting to note that titles like *śrī-vallabha*, *prthivi-vallabha*, etc., were adopted by the Calukya kings of Bādāmi.¹ We do not know whether the Calukyas appropriated the title of the Pallavas. It is however certain that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who succeeded the Calukyas in the sovereignty of the Deccan appropriated these titles and were therefore known as *vallabha-rāja*. Arabic travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries mention a powerful

¹ The Calukya antagonist of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman has been called *Vallabha-rāja* (*tātā bahulo vallabha-rājasya*, etc., of the Udayandiram grant, No. 2; *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273). In the Samangadh inscription (*ibid.*, XI, p. 111), the Calukya contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dentidurga (II) has been called *Vallabha*. In the Xavar and Miraj grants (*ibid.*, VIII, pp. 12-14), the Calukyas themselves refer to the greatness of their family as *vallabharāja-śakṣmi*. These are only a few of the examples. Prof. Raychaudhuri points out to me that the fuller form of the epithet is *śrī-prthivi-vallabha* which possibly suggests that these Vaiṣṇava kings claimed to have been incarnations of Viṣṇu who is the *vallabha* of both Śrī and Prthivi. There seems to be an analogy between these kings' upholding Dharma from the Kaliyuga-dōṣa and Viṣṇu's upholding Prthivi from the Pralaya in his Varāha incarnation. The figures of two queens with each of the two Pallava kings engraved on the portals of the Ādi-Varāha cave (identified by Krishnasastri with Mahendravarma I and his son Narasiṃhavarman-Siṃhaviṣṇu, but by T. G. Aravamudan with Siṃhaviṣṇu and his son Mahendravarma I, see *South Indian Portraits*, p. 11 ff.) appear to represent symbolically Śrī and Prthivi (see my note in *Ind. Coll.*, II, pp. 131-32).

dynasty of the Balharās who ruled at Mānkīr. According to R. G. Bhandarkar (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 209), *Balharā* is an Arabic corruption of *Vallabharāja* and the Balharās of Mānkīr are no other than the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa.¹

I. The Uruvupalli grant of Viṣṇugopavarman was issued from the glorious and victorious *sthāna* of Palakkaṣa. By this grant, the Dharma-yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra and the Pallava family, issued an information about his donation to the villagers of Uruvupalli (situated in Muṇḍarāṣṭra) and an order to all the *āyuktakas* and *naiyyokas*, and the *rāja-callabhas* and *sañcarantakas*, who had to make the following gift of the crown-prince immune with all the *parihārās*. The grant was in the form of 200 *nivartanas* of lands which were made a *devabhoga* to be enjoyed by the god Viṣṇuhāra whose temple called Viṣṇuhāra-devakula was built by the *senāpati* Viṣṇuvarman at a place called Kanḍukūra (or Keṇḍukūra). The object of the grant was the increase of longevity and strength of the donor. It is warned that any one who would transgress the order would be liable to physical punishment. The plates are said to have been given in the 11th year of Simhavarman-mahārāja, on the tenth day of the dark half of Pauṣa.

Āyuktaka which, as we have already seen, is synonymous with *nīyogin*, *karma-saṁica* and *vydṛpta*, seems to mean "governor of a district." The passage *asmin viṣaye sacc-āyuktakāḥ* possibly shows that there were several *āyuktakas* employed in a single *viṣaya*. The word *naiyyoka* is evidently the same as *naiyogika* of the Chendalur grant which is derived from

¹ "Vallabharāja should, by the rules of Prakrit or Vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallabha-rāj* or *Ballabha-rāj*. The last is the same as the *Balharā* of the arabic" (*loc. cit.*, also p. 267 f.).

niyoga (office, employment) and seems to mean "governor." The word *rāja-callabha* may signify favourites or subordinates of the Pallava king. It may also possibly refer to keepers of the royal horses or cows.¹ *Saṅcarantaka* has already been explained. It is the same as *saṅcāra* of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*. For the appointment of spies in the king's own state to report to him about the conduct of his officials and subjects, see *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 122.

The word *devabhoga* has been shown to be the same as *devatrā*, *devasāt*, *devadeya* and *devadāya*, and signifies "religious donation to a god." In numerous South Indian grants reference is made to the fact that the land is granted with the exception of lands previously given away as *devabhogahala*. The word *devahala* has been used in the same sense in the Peddavegi grant of Nandivarman II Śālanakāyana (*above*, pp. 94-95).

The village of Uruvupalli in the Muṇḍarāṣṭra has not yet been satisfactorily identified. The boundary of the field granted is however clearly stated in the charter. The southern and eastern sides of the field were bounded by the river Suprayoga (or Suprayogā). At the northern extremity was a large tamarind tree in the hills; and the western side was bounded by the villages of Koṇḍamuruvudu, Keṇḍukūra and Kararupūra.

According to Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 5), "The seal connecting the plates bears the representation of what seems to be a dog, but in native opinion a lion." The figure is possibly that of a bull.

II. The Oṃgoḍu grant (No. 2) was issued from an unnamed *skandhāvāra* on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the fourth regnal year of Simhavarman, son of Viṣṇugopa. By this record, the king granted the village of Oṃgoḍu (previously granted by his grandfather to a Brāh-

¹ Cf. callers in the Pihira and Hīrahadagalli grants, and *callabha* in the Chendalur and Mangalur grants.

maṇa named Goḷaśarmaṇ of the Kāśyapa gotra) to a Brāhmaṇa named Devaśarmaṇ who was an inhabitant of Koṇḍura and belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Devaśarmaṇ was possibly a relative and heir of Goḷaśarmaṇ. The village of Koṇḍura seems to be the same as the native village of Śivaśarmaṇ, recipient of the Polamuru grant of Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarman I, and of Caśamiśarmaṇ, recipient of the Narasaraṇpet grant of Pallava Viṣṇugopavarman II. The identification of Oṃgoḍu in Karmarāṣṭra has already been discussed.

The grant is here referred to as *pūrva-bhoga-civarjita*, which seems to be the same as *devabhoga-hala-varja* of other grants. It was endowed with all the *parihāras*, and is said to have been copied from the oral order of the Bhaṭṭāraka, i.e., the king himself. According to Krishnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 252), the characters of this grant are of a later period than that used in Simhavarmaṇ's other grants. He is therefore inclined to think that the grant was copied from an original record about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In line 22 of the grant, reference is made to an eclipse¹ being the occasion of the grant. It is however contradicted by the details of the date, viz., 5th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (ll. 31-32). Krishnasastri however tried to reconcile the two particulars by supposing "that the grant which was actually made on the new moon day of Chaitra, a possible day for the nearest solar eclipse, was engraved on the copper-plates five days after, i.e., on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha" (*ibid*, p. 253).²

¹ As regards the importance of eclipses with reference to donation, see Garuḍa Purāṇa, Pūrva-Khaṇḍa. Ch. 51, 29:—

ayāne vṛṣṭe c=śiṣe grahaṇe candra-sūryagṛhe,

śaṃkṛdāṅg-ādīṇa kālāṇa dāttaṃ bhāṇati c=āḥṇanam.

² According to Fleet (*J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 473), Simhavarmaṇ, son of Viṣṇugopa, is to be identified with the king of the same name who is known from the Lokaribhāga

III. The Pīkīra grant of Siṃhavarman was issued from the glorious and victorious camp at the king's residence at Menmātura in his 5th regnal year on the third *tithi* of the bright half of Aśvayuja with a hope for the increase of his longevity, strength and victory. The copper-plates were discovered at Nelalur in the Ongole taluka of the Guntur district.

By this record, the villagers of Pīkīra in Mandarāṣṭra, as well as the *adhyakṣas*, *vallavas* and *śāsana-saṃcārins*, stationed in the rāṣṭra, were informed of the king's gift of the above village, endowed with all the immunities (but with the exception of lands previously granted for the enjoyment of gods) to a Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa named Vilāsaśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. The king says here that, as the village of Pīkīra has been made a Brahmadeya, it should be made immune with all *parihāras* by the king's officials who would also see that they be observed by others. Any one transgressing this order is warned to be liable to physical punishment. The word *adhyakṣa* means a "superintendent" or a "ruler" (Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. ; *Gītā*, IX, 10 ; *Kumārasambhava*, VI, 17).¹ *Vallava* means *gopa* according to Amara ; other Pallava inscriptions (e.g., the Chendalur and Mangalur grants) have *callabha*, which means *ghoṭaka-raṣṭaka* according to Jaṭādhara (see *Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *pālaka*). According to Amara however *callabha* means *adhyakṣa* which has been explained by a commentator as *gav-ādhyakṣa* (*ibid*, 5.v.). *Vallabha* is generally taken to signify favourites of the king. *Śāsana-saṃcārīn* may be the same as *Śāsana-hara*, i.e., messenger ; it may also be identical with *Saṃcarantaka* of other inscriptions.

to have ascended the throne in A.D. 436-37. In A.D. (436-37 + 3 =) 439-40 however there was no solar eclipse on the newmoon day of Caitra.

¹ Being connected with *callava* (cowherd), may *adhyakṣa* signify *gav-ādhyakṣa*?

The seal of Siṃhavarman attached to the Pīkīra grant is very much worn, but bears in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, an animal (bull?) with mouth open and face to the proper left. It is represented as seated on a horizontal line that is in relief. It closely resembles the animal represented on the seal attached to the Uruvupalli grant. The tail and fore-legs of the animal are not seen (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 160).

IV. The Mangalur grant was issued from Daśanapura (identified with Darsi in the Nellore district), on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Caitra in the 8th year of Siṃhavarman's reign with the hope of increasing his longevity, strength and victory.

By this record, the king granted the village of Maṅgaḍūr or Maṅgaḷūr in Veṅgorāṣṭra as a Brahmadeya to the following Brāhmaṇas :—(1) Āpastambīya Rudraśarman of the Ātreya gotra, (2) Āpastambīya Tūrkaśarman of the Vātsyāyana gotra, (3) Āpastambīya Dāmaśarman of the Kauśika gotra, (4) Āpastambīya Yajñaśarman of the Bhāradvāja gotra, (5) Āpastambīya Bhavakotiḡupta¹ of the Parāśara gotra, and (6) Vājasaneyi Bhartr̥śarman, (7) Audamedha, (8) Chandoga, (9) Sivadatta, and (10) Hairanyakeśa Śaṣṭhīkumāra of the Gautama gotra.

The villagers of Maṅgaḍūr as well as the *adhyakṣas*, *callabhas* and *Sāsana-saṅcārins* were informed of the donation which was endowed with all the immunities, but was with the exception of the *devābhoga-hala*. The villagers and officials were ordered to observe the immunities themselves and to see also that others observed them. Transgressors of the order were liable to physical punishment.

Veṅgorāṣṭra seems to be the district of Veṅgī which lies between the rivers Krishna and Godavari. This district was

¹ According to Śākhya quoted in the *Uddāhṛta* and *Śrāddhatatva* (see *Sādhakapadma*, s.v. *gupta* and *vernā*) names ending in the word *gupta* properly belong to the Vāśīyas (cf. *gupta-dār-śrīmān nāma prajastay caṅga-sūdrapoh*).

in the possession of the Śālaṅkāyanas as early as the time of Ptolemy (140 A.D.); but they became independent only after the downfall of the Śātavāhanas. At the time of Simhavarman, the southern fringe of the district may have been occupied by the Pallavas. It is however possible that the name Veṅgī extended over some parts of the country to the south of the Krishna at the time of the Śālaṅkāyanas.¹ Maṅgaḍūr was possibly situated in the southern fringe of the ancient kingdom of the Śālaṅkāyanas.



¹ From the ninth century Veṅgi appears to have signified the kingdom of the Eastern Colukyas. The Telugu-Mahābhārata (Ādī, I, 6) of the middle of the eleventh century refers to Kājakūṇḍry in the Veṅgi country (*Journ. Dept. Let.*, XI, p. 31).

PART II
WESTERN DISTRICTS





CHAPTER I

EARLY KADAMBAS: MAYŪRASARMA'S LINE

I

EARLY HISTORY OF THE KUNTALA REGION

The Kuntala country seems to have comprised the southernmost districts of the Bombay Presidency and the northern part of Mysore.¹ In a wider sense Kuntala possibly signified the whole of the Kanarese speaking area of Bombay, Madras and Mysore with the exception perhaps of the coast region. / The position of the country is indicated by the fact that it was washed by the river Kṛṣṇavarṇā (*Ind. Ant.*, 1879, p. 18) and included Kurgod in the Bellary district (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 265), Gaṅgavāḍi in south Mysore (*Ep. Carn.*, IV, Hunsur 137), Nargund in the Dhurwar district (*Ind. Ant.*, 1883, p. 47), Taragal in the Kothapur state (*ibid.*, p. 98), Terdal in the Sangli state in South Bombay (*ibid.*, 1883, p. 14) and Kuntalanagara (Nubattur in the north-west of Mysore).² / From about the middle of the fourth century up to about the middle of the seventh, when the country was finally made a province of the Calukya empire, Kuntala or Karpāṭa³ is known to have been ruled by princes who belonged to the Kadamba family.

¹ Cf. a record of A.D. 1077 in *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, 96, 993: "In the centre of that middle world is the golden mountain to the south of which is the Bhārata land in which like the curls of the lady earth shines the Kuntala country to which an ornament (with various natural beauties) is Banavāṭ." Some other inscriptions also prove that Kuntala was the district round Banavāṭ. In the traditional lists of countries and peoples in the epics, *Purāṇas* and works like the *Bṛhatasphuṭa* however Kuntala and Banavāṭ are sometimes mentioned separately.

² I am indebted for some references to Prof. Raychandburi. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 553.

³ Kuntala and Karpāṭa are used as synonyms in the *Vikramādityaśataka* by Bīṣṇa. Vikramāditya VI has been called both *kuntal-śaka* (or *kuntal-śaka*) and *karpāṭ-śaka* (IX, 41-42). *Vaijayanti*, identified with Banavāṭ, has been described as a *śaka* (that is to say, the capital) of the Karpāṭa country in the Bīrur grant of Viṣṇuvar-

Some inscriptions of the Nagarakhandā Kadambas (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 245, 285; *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 225, etc.) say that the Kadamba family originated from the Nandas who ruled over Kuntala and the adjoining districts of the Deccan.¹ But these inscriptions belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and very little importance can be put to the traditions recorded in them. It is however not quite impossible that the mighty Nandas held sway over considerable portions of the Deccan. Reference to the wealth of the Nandas in a Tamil poem (Aiyangar, *Beg. S. Ind. Hist.*, p. 89) and the existence of a city called Nander or Nan-Nand-Dehra on the Godavari (Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 142) may be supposed to support the above conjecture.

In the Sravana-Belgola inscriptions (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb. 1, 17, 54, 40, 108; III, Sr. 147, 148, etc.), there is a story of the migration of Chandragupta Maurya in Mysore in company of the Jain teacher Bhadrabāhu. An inscription in the Sorab taluka (*ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 268) says that Nāgaru-

man (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91). Karpāṣa therefore signified the same territory as Kuntala or the country of which Kuntala formed a part. In the traditional lists however they are sometimes separately mentioned. Karpāṣa has been taken to have been derived from a Dravidian original like *kar-nāṣa* = *kaṇ-nāṣa* (black country) or *kaṇ-nāṣa* (great country; cf. *Mahā-tāṭra*). Kuntala seems also to have been Sanskritised from an original like Karpāṣa. The separate mention of Kuntala, Karpāṣa, Banavāsi, Māhigala (cf. *Mahigala-vijaya* in a Kadamba grant), etc., in some of the traditional lists may possibly refer to the fact that these names originally signified separate geographical units abutting on one another. Sometimes however one of them may have formed the part of another; cf. the case of Tamralipti which is mentioned in literature as an independent state, as a part of Suṃha and also as a part of Vaṅga; also the case of Taxila (Raychaudhuri, *Indian Antiquities*, p. 188 f.). With the rise of Kanarese powers like the Calukyas and the Bāṣṭakāṭyas, the name Karpāṣa (sometimes also the name Kuntala) extended over a large part of western and southern Deccan. In the *Kaliṅgattu-purāṇa*, the Calukyas have been described as Kuntalar, "lords of Kuntala" (see *Tamil Lexicon*, Mad. Univ., s.v.). An inscription of Harishara II, dated in Śaka 1337 (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, p. 158, verses 25-26) says that Vijaynagar (modern Hampi) belonged to the Kuntala vijaya of the Karpāṣa country.

¹ An inscription says that the nine Nandas, the Gupta family, and the Maurya kings, ruled over the land of Kuntala; then the Rājās, then the Calukyas, then Kalacūrya Bijjala, and then Hoysala Virā-Ballala II (*Bomb. Gas.*, I, ii, p. 284, note).

khaṇḍa "was protected by the wise Candragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kṣatriyas." This record however belongs to the fourteenth century, and none attaches much importance to it. But these traditions, taken together with references to the Vamba-Mōriyar (Maurya upstarts) advancing as far south as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevely district, may possibly be taken to suggest that the Maurya successors of the Nandas were master of considerable portions of Lower Deccan and the Far South. The above traditions are in a way confirmed by the discovery of the inscriptions of Aśoka at Siddāpur, Jatinga-Rameswar and Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. This goes to show that at least the greater part of the Kuntala country was within the dominions of the Mauryas at the time of Aśoka. According to a tradition recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* (XII, 41) and the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VIII, 10), the Buddhist teacher Rakkhita was deputed to Banavāsī (the capital of Kuntala or the district round the city) in the third century B. C. shortly after the Great Council held at Pāṭaliputra in the eighteenth year of Aśoka. Some scholars think that Kong-kin-na-pu-lo visited by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang is to be identified with the capital of the Kuntala country. If this identification is to be accepted, we have possibly another tradition regarding the Maurya occupation of Kuntala. Yuan Chwang says that there was to the south-west of the city a *stūpa*, said to have been built by Aśoka on the spot where Śrutavimśatikoṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, pp. 237-38; Beal, *Bud. Rec. W. World*, II, pp. 253-55).¹

We know very little of the Kuntala country for a long time after Aśoka. The Sātavāhana king Gautamīpura Sāta-

¹ The reference to an officer designated *rajjuka* in the Mahavalli grant of Viṣṇukakṣa Cutukulānanda Sātakerpi possibly suggests that the Kuntala country was once ruled by the Mauryas. The *rajjukas* (= *rājāhas*) are many times referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

karṇi, who ruled about the first quarter of the second century and claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of Dakṣiṇā-patha, possibly had some connections with Vaijyantī (Banavāsī),¹ the capital of ancient Kuntala or Kārṇāṭa. The claim of Gautamīputra's lordship over the Malaya mountain (the southern part of the Western Ghats) may be a vague one; but the Nasik inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 71) of his eighteenth regnal year records an order of the Śātavāhana king when he was in "the camp of victory of the army at (or, of) Vaijyantī." This record was issued through the *amātya* Śivagupta who was, according to Rapson (*Catalogue*, p. lviii), apparently Gautamīputra's minister at Banavāsī. Rapson further identifies this Śivagupta with Śivaskandagupta mentioned in a Karle inscription of the same Śātavāhana king (*l. c. cit.*; *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 64). There is as yet no further proof to make us definite as regards the occupation of Kuntala by the main line of the Śātavāhanas.

According to the *Purāṇas*, the Andhra (i.e., Śātavāhana) dynasty had five different branches (*cf. andhrāṇāṃ samsthitaḥ pañca teṣāṃ varṣāḥ samāḥ punaḥ; Vāyu*, 99, 358). Indeed one branch of the Śātavāhanas, generally called the Cuṣu-Śātakarṇi family, is known from inscriptions, coins and literary references to have ruled at Vaijyantī (Banavāsī) in the Kuntala country before the Kadambas.

The Matsya list of the Andhra (=Śātavāhana) kings gives the name of Kuntala-Śātakarṇi. A commentator of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* clearly explains the term *kuntala* in the name Kuntala-Śātakarṇi-Śātavāhana as *kūntala-viṣaye*

¹ As shown by Fleet (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 278-79 note), the identification of Vaijyantī with Banavāsī is sufficiently established by two points. Firstly, a name of Banavāsī is known to have been Jayanti (*see, e.g., Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 297), which is very similar to Vaijyantī. Secondly, a Chalukya record (*ibid.*, XIX, p. 152) of A.D. 602 mentions the Ederolal district as situated in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of Vaijyantī, while other records prove that Ederolal was the name of the district round Hāṇḍal which is just to the north-east of Banavāsī. The city seems to have been mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy as Banavasi.

jātatrāt tat-samākhyah. A Sātavāhana king of Kuntala is mentioned in the *Kāśyamīmāṃsā* as having ordered the exclusive use of Prakrit in his harem. Prof. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*, p. 260) is inclined to identify this king with the celebrated Hāla, sometimes credited with the authorship of the *Gāthāsaptasūti*. According to this scholar, the *Matsya-Purāṇa* which gives thirty names in the list of the Andhra or Sātavāhana kings mentions not only the kings of the main line, but includes also the kings of the branch that ruled in Kuntala.

Inscriptions discovered in the western and south-western districts of the Sātavāhana empire, that is to say, in Aparānta (*cf.* Kanheri, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, V, p. 86) and in Kuntala (*cf.* Banavāsi; *Ind. Ant.*, 1885, p. 331) including the north of Mysore (*cf.* Malavalli, Shimoga district, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 251) testify to the existence of a line of the Sātavāhanas called the Cuṭukula which was in possession of South-Western Deccan before the conquest of Banavāsi by the Kadambas. The relation of the Cuṭu-Sātakarṇis with the Sātakarṇis of the main line is quite uncertain. But Rapson thinks that, as the Cuṭus were intimately connected with the Mahārathis and Mahābhajas, it is probable that the branch of Kuntala was originally subordinate to the main line of the Sātavāhanas and that it shook off the yoke when the power of the imperial line began to decline after the death of Yajña Sātakarṇi (*op. cit.*, pp. xxi-ii, xlii).

A doubtful passage of the Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 35), which seems to imply a connection of the Kadambas with the Nāgas possibly suggests that the Kuntala country was originally ruled by the Nāgas. These Nāgas however may be identical with the Cuṭu-Sātakarṇis who according to many scholars belonged to the Nāga dynasty. That the Cuṭu family had Nāga connections is clear from the Kanheri inscription which mentions Nāgumūlanikā,

mother of Skandanāga Sātaka and daughter of Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Sātakarṇi (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. liii).

The following records of the Cuṭu-Sātakarṇis are said to have so far been discovered :—

I. Kanheri inscription of Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Sātakarṇi (Rapson, *loc. cit.*). As the name of the king could not be read, this record was formerly attributed to the reign of Vasiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi. The donor mentioned in this inscription is Nāgamūlanikā who was the wife of a Mahārāṭhi, the daughter of a Mahābhōjī and of the great king, and the mother of Skandanāga-Sātaka. Rapson has no doubt that she is to be identified with the donor of the Banavasi inscription in which she is said to have been the daughter of king Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Sātakarṇi whose name must have originally stood also in the Kanheri inscription.

II. Banavasi inscription of the twelfth year of Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Sātakarṇi (Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. liii-iv). According to Bühler's interpretation of the record (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 334) the king had a daughter named Śivaskandanāgaśrī who made the grant of a *nāga*,¹ a tank and a *vihāra* (monastery) on the first lunar day of the seventh fortnight of Hemanta. With respect to these gifts *amaco* (*amātya*, i.e., minister) Khada Sāti (Skanda Sāti) was the Superintendent of work (*kamanṭika*). The *Nāga* was made by Nāṭaka (Nartaka), the pupil of ācārya Idamoraka (Indramayūra) of Saṃjayantī. According to the *Mahābhārata* (II, 31, 70) Saṃjayantī was situated near Karshāṭa which may be the same as modern Karhād. Saṃjayantī

¹ " In Southern India, carved stone-images of the Nāga are set up to this day, often at the entrance of a town or village, for public adoration, and ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra. Groups of Nāga-kals (snake-stones) are to be found in almost every village, heaped up in a corner of the court-yard of a Śiva temple or placed under the shade of a venerable Pipal (*Ficus Religiosa*) or a Margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) tree " (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1918-19, p. 25 and plates).

may possibly be identified with Vaijayantī or Banavāsī which was also called Jayantī. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the city of Samjayantī in connection with Sahadeva's *digvijaya* in the south, along with the Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and Drāviḍas.

Rapson, on the other hand, thinks that the proper name of the donor is not mentioned in the inscription, but she is said to have been the daughter of the great king and to have been associated in the donation with Prince Śivaskandanāgaśrī. He further suggests that the donor is styled Mahābhojī or, it is possible, that the passage *mahābhūviya mahārāja-bālikāya* may be taken to mean "of the daughter of the Mahābhojī and of the great king." If the latter interpretation be accepted, the epithets—except *mahārathinī*—would be the same as in the Kanheri inscription. Rapson has little doubt that the prince Śivaskandanāgaśrī of this inscription is identical with Skandanāga-Śātaka of the other inscription. Thus, according to him the donors mentioned in the Kanheri and Banavasi inscriptions must be one and the same person, viz., the daughter of king Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭu-kulānanda Śātakarṇi. He further identifies this Śivaskandanāgaśrī = Skandanāga-Śātaka with king Śivaskandavarman mentioned in the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 252) of an early unknown Kadamba king, and says that the prince subsequently came to the throne of Vaijayantī as the heir of his maternal grandfather and was possibly the last reigning member of the Cuṭu dynasty. The identification of the slightly similar names, viz., Śivaskandanāgaśrī, Skandanāga-Śātaka and Śivaskandavarman, however, cannot be accepted as certain.

III. The Malavalli inscription of the first regnal year of Mānavya-sagotra Hārītiṣputra Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 251). The inscription records the grant of a village. The king is here called *rāja* of the city of Vaijayantī. The inscription is followed on

the same pillar by an early Kadamba record which mentions Mānavya-sagotra Hārītiputra Vaijayantī-pati Sivaskandavarman as a previous ruler of the locality. If judged by the standard of palaeography, the second record, according to Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, XXV, p. 28), cannot be much later than the first. In this connection, it is also noticed that the famous Talgunda inscription of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman refers to Śātakarṇi (very probably a king of the Cuṭu family) and other kings having worshipped in a Śiva temple at Śtūnakundūra (Talgunda). It has therefore been suggested that the Kuntala country passed into the possession of the Kadambas directly from the hands of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. lv), and the following genealogy of the Cuṭu dynasty has been drawn from the above records:—

(1) Vaijayantīpura-rāja Mānavya-sagotra Hārītiputra Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi (Kanberi, Banavasi and Malavalli records) + Mahābhōjī

Mahārāṭhi + Nāgamūlanikā.

(2) Vaijayantī-pati Mānavya-sagotra Hārītiputra Śivaskandavarman (Malavalli record).

We have already said that the identification Śivaskandanāgaśrī = Skandanāga-Śātaka = Sivaskandavarman is not quite happy. It has moreover been pointed out (see *above*, p. 168, note 2) that, on linguistic consideration, the Malavalli record of year 1 appears to be later than the Banavasi record of year 12. The language of the Banavasi inscription resembles that of the records of the Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus; the language of the Malavalli inscription is, on the other hand, very similar to that of the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. I therefore think that the Banavasi and Malavalli records belong to two different

Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi. This suggestion is also supported by the palaeographical standard of the Banavasi inscription. According to Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 331 ff.), the record is to be placed about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

From the fact that, according to the evidence of the Talgunda record, Mayūraśarman, the first king of the Kadamba family, received the *paṭṭabandha-sampūṇā* along with the country from the Prehāra (river?) up to the western (Arabian) sea from the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, it appears that for a time the Kuntala country passed into the possession of the Pallavas. This may have taken place about the time of the great Sivaskandavarman and his father whose direct rule is known to have extended as far as the Andhrāpatha (i.e., the Andhra country with its capital at Dhamṇakaḍa=Dhānyakaṭaka) in the north and the Sātaḥaniraṭṭha (i.e., the Bellary district) in the north-west. We have also shown (see *above*, pp. 168, 184) that a comparison of the language of the Malavalli record with that of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants would place the rule of Mayūraśarman, the progenitor of the Kadambas, not long after the accession of Sivaskandavarman about the beginning of the fourth century. Since the language of the Malavalli record of Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi who, as we have suggested, appears to have been different from the earlier Viṣṇukaḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi of the Banavasi inscription, closely resembles the language of the Chandravalli record of Mayūraśarman and the Malavalli grant which seems to belong either to the same king or to his immediate successor, and does not appear to be earlier than the grants of Sivaskandavarman, I think it not impossible that the later members of the Cuṭu dynasty of Kuntala acknowledged the suzerainty of the powerful early Pallava rulers of Kāñcī.

No coins have as yet been attributed to any of the Cuṭu kings known from inscriptions. Some large lead coins from Karwar bearing the title *cuṭu-kul-ānanda* in the legend are doubtfully assigned to an earlier feudatory member of the Cuṭu family (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xliii). The reading *hārīti* as a portion of the legend on some lead coins found in the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts (*loc. cit.*) is not quite certain and therefore does not justify in the present state of our knowledge the attribution of those coins to any of the Cuṭu kings.

Besides the coins bearing the legend *raño cuṭu-kul-ānandasa*, there are other coins discovered from the Karwar district with the legend *raño mud-ānandasa*. The expressions *cuṭu-kul-ānanda* and *mud-ānanda* have been thought to signify respectively "Joy of the family" of the Cuṭus" and "Joy of the Muṇḍas." These titles resemble in character that of the Mahārāṭhi Aṅgika-kula-vardhana, "the cherisher of the race of Aṅga." They have been taken to be dynastic. According to Rapson, these may be designations attached to particular localities or titles derived from the home or race of the rulers. Cuṭu evidently signifies the Cuṭu-Sātakarni family. The Muṇḍas are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (IV, 24, 14) speaks of thirteen Muṇḍa kings who ruled after the Andhras, (i.e., Sātavāhanas). "It is perhaps, more probable that the kings bearing these titles were members of two families of feudatories in the early period of the dynasty, and that, at a later period, on the decline of the empire, one of these families gained the sovereign power in the western and southern provinces, while the eastern provinces remained in the possession of the Sātavāhana family" (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii).

¹ In place of *kula* of the inscriptions, Rapson reads *kapa* on the coins and translates the term as "city" (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv).

II

ORIGIN OF THE KADAMBAS ¹

In almost all Kadamba inscriptions the Kadambas claim to have belonged to the Mānavya gotra and call themselves Hāritīputra.² The designation Mānavyagotra-Hāritīputra was evidently borrowed from the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis who ruled over Kuntala before the rise of the Kadambas. From the Banavasi grant of the eighth year of Mrgeśavarman's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) the Kadambas seem to have actually belonged to the Āṅgīrasa gotra.³ This suggestion is possibly supported by the fact that they are called *try-ārṣa-vartma* (see verse 3 of the Talgunda inscription; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff.) which seems to refer to the three *pravara*s of the Āṅgīrasa gotra, viz., Āṅgīrasa, Vāśiṣṭha and Bārhaspatya (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *pravara*).

According to a very late inscription belonging to the Kadambas of Hangal (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 117), the Kadamba family originated from the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba. This Kadamba is said to have sprung into being under a Kadamba tree from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground from the forehead of Śiva. Kadamba's son was Mayūravarman who conquered the earth by the power of his sword and invincible armour. Another inscription (*ibid.*, XI, Dg. 35) says that Mayūravarman himself was born under an auspicious Kadamba tree, with an eye

¹ This paper was originally published in *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 118 ff.

² As soon of Manu, all men may claim the Mānavya gotra. A Calukya grant says, "Brāyambhuva Manu's son was Mānavya: from whom came all those who belonged to the Mānavya gotra (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, li, p. 339). Mānavya's son was Harita; his son was Pañcūlikhi-Hāriti.

³ Did the Kadambas claim connection with the Āṅgīrasa Hāritas who are said to have descended, through Ikṣvāku, from Manu? (See *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, li, p. 317, note).

on his forehead. He is there described as the son of Rudra and the earth. His family became famous as Kadamba owing to the fact that he grew up in the shade of a Kadamba tree. An inscription of A.D. 1077 (*ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 262) gives still more interesting details. There Mayūravarmaṇ seems to have been described as the son of the famous Ananda-jīna-vratīndra's sister¹ and as born under the famous Kadamba tree, and to have had the other name Trilocana. A kingdom having been procured for him from the Śāsanadevī and a forest being cleared and formed into a country for that prince, a crown composed of peacock's feathers was placed on his head. From this crown, the prince obtained the name Mayūravarmaṇ.

These mythical accounts do not differ materially from those recorded in the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas of Goa. Some of the Halsi and Degamve grants (*e.g.*, *ibid.*, VII, Sk. 236) attribute the origin of the Kadamba family to the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta otherwise named Trilocona-Kadamba. This Jayanta is said to have sprung from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground near the roots of a Kadamba tree, from the forehead of Śiva when the god killed Tripura after a hard fight.

An inscription of the same period belonging to the Later Kadambas of Nagarakhandā (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 245, 272, 285) gives a slightly different story. It says that king Nanda worshipped Śiva for many days with the desire of getting a son. One day some Kadamba flowers suddenly fell down from the sky and a heavenly voice assured him of his getting two brilliant sons in the near future. Thus according to this tradition, the Kadambas claimed relation with the famous Nanda kings of Pāṭaliputra. Some other late Kadamba grants also attribute a northern origin to the

¹ Here is possibly a reference to the claim of having been related with the Ananda kings of Kanḍarapura. For the Anandas, see above, p. 10 ff.; also my note in *J. R. A. S.*, October, 1904, p. 737 ff.

Kadambas. The Kargudari record of the Hangal Kadambas asserts that Mayūravarman came from the Himalayan regions and brought from Ahicchatra eighteen Brāhmaṇas whom he established in Kuntala (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 560-561).¹ According to another record (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 354, 360) Mayūravarman is said to have established his power on the summits of the Himavat mountain.

All these traditions are of little historical value. All they may indicate is that the progenitor of the Kadamba family was named Mayūra and that the family-name had an accidental connection with the Kadamba tree. In connection with the tradition regarding the three-eyed Trilocana-Kādamba, it is interesting to note that there are similar accounts of a mythical Trilocana-Pallava in later Pallava inscriptions. This three-eyed Pallava is said to have brought some Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra and to have settled them to the east of Śrīparvata where he made seventy *agrahāras* (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1908, pp. 82-38). Later Kadamba inscriptions, as we have noticed, attribute this Brāhmaṇa emigration to Mayūravarman. These facts seem to show that the mythical traditions about the two Pallava and Kadamba Trilocanas had a common origin, though they possibly depended on the development of each other (Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 8 note). As has already been suggested, the evidence of the Mysore records of the twelfth century stating that the Nanda king ruled over Kuntala (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 3), the reference to the wealth of the Nandas in a Tamil poem and the existence of a city called Nau Nand-Dehra in the South may suggest that the Nanda dominions embraced considerable portions of Southern India. In the present state of our knowledge however it is not possible to prove a genealogical connection

¹ Another record says (*Bomb. Gaz.*, p. 561) that Mukappa-Kādamba (the three-eyed Kādamba) brought 12,000 Brāhmaṇas of 32 gotras from Ahicchatra and established them at the Sūlāṅgaśāhapura (i.e., Talagunda).

between the Nandas and the Kadambas. Moreover, the Kadambas, as we shall presently see, were originally Brāhmaṇas, while the Nandas are known from the *Purāṇas* to have been Kṣatriyas with an admixture of Sūdra blood.

It is clear that all the later traditions connected with the origin of the name Kadamba developed on a reference in a much earlier Kadamba record. It is the Talgunda inscription of king Śāntivarman who ruled about the middle of the fifth century, that is to say, about a century after the establishment of the Kadamba power in Kuntala by Mayūra about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This inscription records (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31) that the Kadambas were so named owing to their tending a Kadamba tree that grew near their house (*cf.* *gṛha-samīpa-samrūḍha-viśaṣat-kadamb-aika-pādapam, tad-upacāraṇat=tad=āśya taroḥ sādāmya-sādharmyam=asya tat prāvaṇṇe śātirthyā-viprāṇām prācuryaṭas=tad=viśeṣaṇam*), and that they belonged to the *deīja-kula* (Brāhmaṇa family). In this *Kadamba-kula* was born a person named Mayūraśarman, the best of the Brāhmaṇas (*cf. evam=āgate kadamba-kule śrīmān=babhūva dvijottamah nāmata mayūraśarm=eti*). There seems to be nothing very strange and unbelievable in this simple account. The statement that the Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas is also supported by the evidence of the earliest Kadamba record, the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūra (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50). In this inscription, the name of the Kadamba king has been given as Mayūra-śarman, and not as Mayūra-varman which form we find only in the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas. Since *śarman* was used with the names of Brāhmaṇas and *varman* with that of Kṣatriyas (*cf. śarma-cad=brāhmaṇasya syāt*, *Manu*, II, 32 ; *śarmā devaś=ca viprasya varmā trātā ca bhū-bhujah*, etc., *Yama* quoted in *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s.v. *śarmā*), the progenitor of the Kadamba family was a Brāhmaṇa according

to the earliest known Kadamba record, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the statement. It is not impossible that the Kadambas were originally Brāhmaṇas who migrated from Northern India like many other South Indian royal families, took service under the Śātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kuntala country.¹ That they later gave themselves as Kṣatriya is proved by the fact that not only the names of the succeeding kings ended in *varman*, but Mayūraśarman was himself made Mayūravarman in all later records of the family. Their case may be compared with that of the Sena kings of Bengal who styled themselves as Brahma-Kṣatriya which possibly means "Brāhmaṇa first and Kṣatriya afterwards," that is to say, "Brāhmaṇa by birth and Kṣatriya by profession."

It is interesting in this connection to note that, like the Kadambas, there were and still are many tribes and families in India, named after particular trees. The Śākyaas were a branch of the Ikṣvāku family and were so called owing to their connection with the Śaka tree (*cf. śaka-vṛkṣa-praticchannam vāsam yasmāc = ca cakrire, tasmād = ikṣvāku-vamśyās = te bhuvī śākyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ; Saundaranandakāvya*, I, 24). Coins of a tribe or family called Oḍumbara have been discovered in the Pathankot region (Kangra and Hoshiarpur districts according to Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 160-61) and have been assigned to *circa* 100 B.C. (Rapeon, *Indian Coins*, p. 11). Oḍumbara (Sanskrit Audumbara) appears to be connected with the Udumbara or fig tree. A tribe named Arjunāyana has been mentioned Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 25) and the Allahabad pillar

¹ Had the Kadambas some sort of relation with the Nīṣa (=Kadamba) family which ruled, according to a tradition recorded by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*, VI, verses 45-51), over the district round Mathurā? G. M. Moraes says (*Kadambakula*, p. 10). "The very name of the family suggests that they (*i.e.*, the Kadambas) were the natives of the South. For the Kadamba tree is common only in the Deccan." It is however a misrepresentation. The Kadamba tree is largely found also in other parts of India.

pillar inscription of Samudragupta (circa 350 A.D.). Many coins belonging to this tribe have also been discovered (*Indian Coins*, p. 11). These Arjunāyanas seem to have been called after the Arjuna tree. The name of the Śibi tribe may also be connected with Śivī or the birch tree. Some coins bearing the legend *caṭasvaka* are assigned to about B.C. 200 (*ibid.*, p. 14). Bühler has explained the legend as denoting the Vāṭa (fig. tree) branch of the Aśvaka tribe (*Ind. Stud.*, III, p. 46). It is interesting in this connection to notice that even at the present time the Lari Goāḷās of Chhota-Nagpur, the Gorāits, Khariās, Kharwars, the Kumhārs of Lohardaga, Muṇḍas, Nāgesars, Orāons, Pans and many other tribes have septs or sections amongst them named after the famous Indian tree Vāṭa (*Ficus Indica*). (See H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, 1892, pp. 51, 55, 77, 78, 86, 103, 111, 113, 115, etc.) A consideration of modern tribal names seems to suggest that the above tree-names had originally some sort of totemistic significance.

We have already mentioned several Indian tribes and castes bearing the name Vāṭa. There are many such tribes and castes in India, which go by the names of particular trees. Tribal septs are named after the Dumur (fig. tree), bamboo, Palm tree, Jari tree, Mahua tree, Baherwar tree, Kussum tree, Karma tree and many other trees (Risley, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 78, 87, 96, 97, 103, 105, etc.). Some of these are actually totems, while others appear to have lost their original totemistic significance.¹

¹ Totemistic ideas appear to be gradually changed with time. Among the present day Santals, only traces of their primitive totemism are to be found. "None of these appear to be associated with the idea of culture-heroes as amongst the Amer-Indians. The folklore shows indeed some stories centering round the plants (betel-palm, Panjaum tree, Sabai grass) and animals (tiger, jackal, leopard, crab). Besides these, some of the clan names centre round industrial objects and articles of usefulness, such as chain, earthen vessel, etc. These would be more in line with a belief in objects possessing manes and venerated as such and gradually getting

It however cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge whether the Kadambas and the other tribes and families with tree-names were totemistic in the true sense of the term. In this connection it is interesting to note what has been said about the totemism prevalent among the present-day Santals who must originally have been a totemistic people. "Totemism in the truest form is not present amongst the Santals. The Santals of our days do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, and the few legends of the Santals about the origin of some of their clans do not point to any belief in the descent of men from their totems. All that they indicate is that the totem animal and plant had some accidental connection with the birth of the ancestor of the clan. As for example, the sept Pāuriā is called after the pigeon and Chore after the lizard; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards; so they were called by the names of these animals."¹ It is interesting also to note that according to the Talgunda inscription and many other later Kadamba records the Kadamba tree "had some accidental connection with the birth" of the family of Mayūrasarman, the ancestor of the Kadambas, exactly as the pigeon and lizard in the family traditions of the two Santal septs called Pāuriā (pigeon) and Chore (lizard).

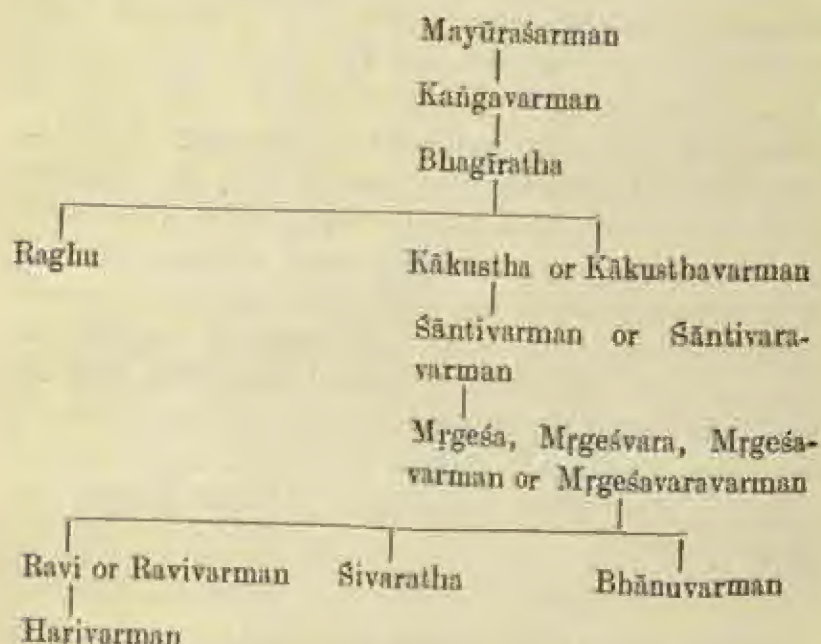
associated with exogamous sub-divisions which might have had a hand in the invention or diffusion of these useful objects. There is no essential recurring ceremonial round these objects meant for the preservation or propagation of animals or plants venerated as ancestors as in Australia. There is indeed some taboo to the use by the particular section of the plant and animal venerated as its ancestor. The animal and plant thus venerated are taboo to the clans; none can hunt it, nor can they partake of its flesh. But for the observation of this taboo, the Santals are in no sense plant and animal worshippers" (P. C. Biwaa, *Primitive Religion, etc., of the Santals*; Journ. Dept. Lit., XXVI, p. 6).

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

III

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KADAMBAS OF MAYŪRĀSAMAN'S LINE

The following genealogy of the Early Kadambas is established by the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman and the numerous records of his son, grandson and great-grandson (see *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 22) :—



In connection with the discussion on the date of Pallava Sivaskandavarman (*above*, pp. 161-68 ; also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 297 ff.), I have tried to prove that Sivaskandavarman ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. I have also suggested that a comparison of the language of the Chandravalli record

(*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50) with that of the Mayiḍavolu and Hirahadagalli grants would place the reign of Kadamba Mayūraśarman only a little later than the accession of Śivaskandavarman. The use of *ś* (1.1) and the numerous double-consonants like *mma* (1.1), *tr*, *ll* (1.2), *sth*, *nd* (1.3), etc., appear to prove that the Chandravalli record was engraved after, but not long after, the execution of the grants of Śivaskandavarman. I therefore think that scholars (see *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 95 f.; *Kadambakula*, chart opp. p. 15) are justified in placing Mayūraśarman about the middle of the fourth century A.D. We may not therefore be far from the mark if we suppose that the date of Mayūra's accession lies somewhere between A.D. 320 and 350.¹

According to the evidence of the Talgunda inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31 ff.) of the Kadamba king named Śāntivarman, this Mayūraśarman was followed on the Kadamba throne by his son Kaṅgavarman, grandson Bhagīratha and great-grandson Raghu; Raghu was succeeded by his brother whose name was Kākusthavarman. Supposing that Mayūraśarman's reign began about the middle of the fourth century and that the reign-periods of the four predecessors of Kākusthavarman (*viz.*, Mayūraśarman, Kaṅgavarman, Bhagīratha and Raghu) together covered about a century, we arrive at about the middle of the fifth century for the period of Kākustha.

The Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) of Kākusthavarman, the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince) of the Kadambas, was issued in the eightieth year.² Fleet says (*Bomb. Gaz.*,

¹ According to the Talgunda inscription, Mayūraśarman received the *paṭṭabandha-sampājā* as well as the land between the Western sea and the Prabhāra from the Pallava kings of Kāñcī. We have already suggested that this may have taken place about the time of the great Śivaskandavarman and his father who were possibly suzerains of the whole land bounded by the Arabian sea in the west. See above, p. 154 n.

² In *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 17, it has been suggested to be the eightieth year from the conquest of the Nāga by Kṛṣṇavarman (II), who however cannot be 80 years earlier than Kākusthavarman.

I, ii, p. 291), "The year purports by strict translation to be his own eightieth year. But it cannot be the eightieth year of his *Yucarāja*-ship; and, even if such a style of dating were usual, it can hardly be even the eightieth year of his life. It must therefore be the eightieth year from the *Paṭṭabandha* of his ancestor *Mayūraśarman*, which is mentioned in the *Talgunda* inscription." The beginning of *Kākustha*'s reign thus falls more than eighty years after *Mayūraśarman*'s accession (somewhere between *circa* 320 and 350 A.D.). The record issued when *Kākusthavarman* was a *Yuvarāja* thus seems to have been inscribed some time between *circa* 400 and 430 A.D.¹

Kākusthavarman was succeeded by his son *Śāntivarman* during whose reign the *Talgunda* record was engraved. *Mrgeśavarman* was the son and successor of *Śāntivarman*. Thus the two reigns of *Kākusthavarman* and of *Śāntivarman* intervened between the date of the *Halsi* grant when *Kākustha* was a *Yuvarāja* (some time between A.D. 400 and 430) and the date of *Mrgeśavarman*'s accession. But since we do not know the precise date of *Mayūraśarman*'s accession and the exact reign-periods of *Kākusthavarman* and *Śāntivarman*, it is difficult to conjecture any definite date for the accession of *Mrgeśavarman*. It is however almost certain that *Mrgeśa*'s rule did not begin earlier than A.D. 415.

Mrgeśavarman's last known date is year 8. He was succeeded by his son *Ravivarman* whose last known inscriptional date is year 35. *Ravivarman*'s son and successor was *Harivarman* whose *Sangoli* grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 165 ff.) was dated in the eighth year of his reign. The date of this record is calculated to be either Tuesday, the

¹ Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests to me that, since this is the only instance of an era being used in the Kadamba records and since *Kākaśāha* is known to have had relations with the Guptas, the year 80 may possibly be referred to the Gupta era. The suggestion suits our chronology, as the date then falls in 400 A.D.

22nd September, 526, or Thursday, the 21st September, 545 A.D. So Harivarman ascended the Kadamba throne either in 519-520 or in 538-539.¹ Since Ravivarman's reign of about 35 years intervened between the end of Mrgeśavarman's rule and the beginning of Harivarman's reign, Mrgeśavarman does not appear to have ended his rule before $(538 - 35 =)$ 503 A.D. Thus we see that the reign of Mrgeśavarman fell in the period between A.D. 415 and 503.

Now, the Banavasi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) of Mrgeśavarman gives a verifiable date. This record is said to have been dated in *rājyasya tṛtīye varṣe pauṣe śravanauṣṭure kārttikamāsa-bahula-pakṣe daśamyān = tithau uttara-bhādrapada-nakṣatre*. The date is therefore Pauṣa year ; month of Kārttika ; Bahula or the dark fortnight ; tenth lunar day ; and Uttara-bhādrapada nakṣatra. This date fell in the third regnal year of Mrgeśavarman. It must first be observed that *Bahula* is here apparently a mistake for *Śukla*. The lunar mansion called Uttara-bhādrapada may have chance to occur on the tenth lunar day only of the bright half, and not of the dark half, of the month of Kārttika. We are therefore to find out a Pauṣa year in the period between A.D. 415 and 503, in which the lunar mansion Uttara-bhādrapada occurred on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika.

Between A.D. 415 and 503, Pauṣa years, counted according to the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, occurred in A.D. 425, 437, 448, 460, 472, 484 and 496; but calculations show that the lunar mansion Uttara-bhādrapada occurred in Kārttika-śukla-daśamī only in A.D. 437 and in 472. On October 24, A.D. 437, Śukla-daśamī continued till 2-5 A.M. in the night; and Uttara-bhādrapada nakṣatra began about

¹ Mr. K. N. Dikshit who has edited the Sangoli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 165 f.) rightly prefers the second date, viz., A.D. 538.

12-15 P.M. in the day. On October 27, A.D. 472, Sukla-daśamī continued till 8-57 P.M. in the night and Uttara-bhādrapada began about 2-31 P.M. in the day. It therefore appears that Mrgeśavarman ascended the Kadamba throne either in A.D. 434-435 or 469-470.¹

Scholars (see *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 95-96; *Kadambakula*, chart opp. p. 15) generally place Mrgeśavarman's accession in circa 475 A.D. We would therefore prefer the second alternative, viz., 469-70 A.D.

In this connection we should also note that a Hulsī grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of king Mrgeśavarman is dated on the full-moon day of Kārttika in his eighth regnal year which was a Vaiśākha samvatsara. We have already seen that the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika of his third year fell in the Pauṣa samvatsara. This fact seems to show that the same lunar day of Kārttika in the next Vaiśākha samvatsara fell in his seventh regnal year. Are we to suppose that the eighth year of Mrgeśavarman's reign began in between the Sukla-daśamī and the full-moon day of Kārttika? Mrgeśavarman would then appear to have ascended the throne on a day between these two *tithis*.

There were several branches² of the Early Kadambas, the most important of them—besides the direct line of

¹ I am indebted for some calculations to Mr. D. N. Mukherji, B.Sc., of the Danlalpur College (Kholua district, Bengal). The calculations are on the heliacal rising system as followed by Dikshīt in *Pleest's Gupta Inscriptions* (Corp. Ins. Ind., III). After the publication of my paper on this subject (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIV, p. 344), I have noticed that in a foot-note at page 353 of his *List*, the late Mr. Sewall said, "Mrgeśavarman may have come to the throne in A.D. 471. For an inscription of his third year bears a date in A.D. 473, given as in the year Pauṣa, which, in the twelve year cycle—Kṛikā," Sewall appears to have calculated the Pauṣa years according to the mean motions of Jupiter.

² It will be seen that the lines of Mayūśarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I and a few other lines one of them being that to which king Māndhātṛvarman belonged, ruled more or less simultaneously over different parts of the Kadamba country. The reference to Chalikya Kirti-varman's victory over the *kadamba-kadamba-kadamba* (combined army of a confederacy of Kadamba princes?) is interesting to note in this connection. Rudradatta, the celebrated author of the *Vinayavivachhaya*, is said to have flourished at Uragapura (modern Uraiyaṛ near Tanjore) about the 5th century

Mayūraśarman—being the line of Kṛṣṇavarman I. Since the exact relation of these branch lines with the main line, that is to say, with the line of Mayūraśarman, is not as yet definitely and unquestionably settled, I think it wiser to deal with them separately.

A.D. In the *nigamams* of that work, he says that he resided in the *śāhāra* of Veghuraḍāna at Bhūtamaṅgala-on-Kōveri in the Cola-raṣṭra and composed the book when the country was being ruled by Acyutavikrama who was a *kaṣamha-kula-nandana*. The *śikā* says that the Cola-rāja Acyutavikrama who was *kaṣamha-kula-ramesa-jāta* was ruling the Cola-raṣṭra. It has been suggested that king Acyutavikrama belonged to the Kadamba family (see *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 71-74). Some scholars think that he was a Kalabhra. The suggestion that the Co's country was ruled by a Kadamba or Kalabhra king about the fifth century however cannot be accepted without further evidence. *Kaṣamha-kula-nandana*, i.e., *delight of the Kaṣamha-Kaṣamha* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 339, note 2) or Kadamba family, may suggest that Acyutavikrama's mother was a Kadamba princess. In this connection it is interesting to note that a Pallava king (Pallava-rāja) named Gopāladēva has been described in the Haldipur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 173 ff.) as *kaikeya-rupī-sūbhara* which has been taken to indicate that Gopāladēva was connected with the Kaikeyas on his mother's side. Calukya Jayasimha III is described in the records of the family as being born in the Pallava lineage (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 339), and Fleet suggests that his mother was a Pallava princess. Fleet also suggested (*ibid.* p. 316) that Saṅyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Iśvaraśarma, "an ornament of the Ādi-mahā-Boppāra-rupīa," was a son of Calukya Maṅgalala and was connected with the Boppāra or Batpūra family on his mother's side. It is also not impossible that the *Kamhoja-rupīa-tilaka* Rājyapāla of the Irda grant is the same as king Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty, whose mother was a Kamhoja princess. See my note in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 227 f.

IV

MAYŪRĀŚARMA

We have seen that according to the Talgunda inscription the Kadambas belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family devoted to the study of the Vedas. There the family has been described as *tryārṣa-cātma*, *hāriti-putra* and *mānavya-gotra*. In this family of *dvijas* was born an illustrious and learned Brāhmaṇa named Mayūraśarma who went with his preceptor Virasiṃha to Kāñcīpura, the Pallava capital, in order to prosecute his Vedic studies. There Mayūraśarma was drawn in a quarrel with the Pallavas,¹ and considering the illtreatment he received a dishonour to the Brāhmaṇas, "he unseathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world." He then easily defeated the frontier guards of the Pallava kings (*antaḥ-pālān pallav-endrāṇām*)² and established himself in a dense forest near Śrīparvata. His power gradually increased, and he levied tributes from the Bhṛhad-Bāṇas³ and other kings. At length a compromise

¹ Elzhorn thinks that *śāntaspatha* is the same as *śāntaspa*, "a horseman" (Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 26). May the passage *śāntaspatha kalahena* suggest that the quarrel of Mayūraśarma was in connection with a horse-sacrifice (see above, p. 164, note). Among the Early Pallavas Śivaskandavarman and Kumāravijaya of the Onigoda (no. 1) grant are the only kings known to have performed the *Āśvamedha*. This fact also appears to suggest that Mayūraśarma lived about the time of the great Śivaskandavarman who is known to have held sway over the greater portion of Lower Deccan. Kumāravijaya seems to have ruled about the end of the fourth century.

² The plural number in *pallavendrāṇām*, etc., suggests that the quarrel of Mayūraśarma was not limited within the reign-period of a single Pallava king of Kāñcī, but continued in the succeeding reigns. *Antaḥ-pālā* (Warden of the Marches) is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthśāstra* (Samantas' ed., pp. 20, 247). The salary of an *Antaḥ-pālā* was equal to that of a *Kumāra*, *Paura-vyavahārika*, *Rāṣṭrapālā* and of a member of the *Mantri-pariṣat*.

³ Bhṛhad-Bāṇa appears to mean the great Bāṇa or the greater house of the Bāṇas. Cf. Perumbāṣappāḷi in Tamil.

was brought in, and Mayūrasarma accepted service under the Pallava kings of Kāñcī, from whom he received the *paṭṭabandha-sampūjā*, that is to say, the status of a subordinate ruler, as well as the territory extending from the Aparāṇḍava (Western or Arabian Sea) and the Prehāra (river ?) with a specification that no other chief would enter into it. The eightieth year of an unknown era by which the Halsi grant of Kākusthavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) is dated, is supposed by some scholars to have begun from this time.

Mayūrasarma is said in the Talgunda inscription (v. 20) to have entered into the service of the Pallava kings and to have pleased them by acts of bravery in battles. He seems to have become a *daṇḍanāyaka* (field-marshal) of the Pallava king of Kāñcī. This view is further supported by verse 3 of the same inscription in which the Kadamba family is called the great lineage of leaders of armies (*kadamba-senānī¹-brhad-anaya*), as well as by verse 22 in which Mayūrasarma is said to have been favoured² and appointed *Senāpati* (general) by Śaḍānana and the Mothers³ (*ṣaḍānanah yam = abhiṣikta-*

¹ The word *senānī* means "leader of an army" (see *Gita*, X, 24; *Kumāra*, II, 51). It is also a name of Kārtikeya, the divine general (*Raghu*, II, 37). It may also be suggested that Mayūrasarma was famous as *Senānī* or *Senāpati* like Puṣyamitra Suṅga (*Māhātmya-nimitta*, Act V).

² The word *anudhṛta* is generally taken to be in the active use to mean "meditating on..." In the passage in question the verb *anudhṛta* is evidently used in the passive to mean "to favour," "to bless." That the word *anudhṛta* should be taken in the passive to mean "favoured" is also proved by passages like *mahātana-matṛga-anudhṛat-abhiṣikta* in which the other word *abhiṣikta* is used in the passive. Note also a similar passage of the Calukya grants which says that the family "acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour and protection of Kārtikeya" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 337). The common phrase *ṣaṭpāṭṭāśraka-pāṭ-anudhṛate* means "favoured (or, blessed) by the feet of the lord, the noble lord, the father."

³ The Calukyas are described in their grants as "who have been nourished by the seven Mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind." The Mothers are personified energies of the principal deities. They are generally seven (sometimes eight or sixteen) in number, e.g., Brāhmī (or Brahminī), Māheśvarī, Kaundarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī (sometimes Nārasimhī), Indrāgī (Aindrī or Mahendrarī), and Cāmuṣṭhī, who attend on Śiva but usually on his son Skanda (Mahādeva or Śaḍānana). The list of eight Mothers omits Māhendrarī but includes Caṇḍī and Carikā. They were probably connected with the six Kṛtikās (Pierades) who are said to become mothers to Skanda

cān=*anudhyāya-senāpatiṃ mātṛbhīḥ saha*).¹ In this connection it is interesting to note that in almost all the Kadamba records the family has been described as *anudhyāta* (favoured) by Svāmi-Mahāsena (Śiṣānana) and the Mothers. It must also be noticed in this connection that the Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 264) of Ravivarman describes the king as *Kadamba-mahāsenāpati-pratīma*.²

A very late inscription found at Talgunda (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 178) says that Mayūraśarman (or Mayūravarman as there written) performed no less than eighteen horse-sacrifices. G. M. Moraes says, "It may safely be maintained that he really performed one or perhaps a few more which thus formed a historical foundation for the exaggerated version of the later records." The suggestion is however untenable in view of the fact that Mayūraśarman is never credited with the performance of any sacrifice not only in his own Chandravalli record but also in the inscriptions of his immediate successors. The Kadamba family is said to have been rendered pure by the bath of the Aśvamedha only after the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I who is the only Kadamba ruler known to have performed the horse-sacrifice.

The Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50) records the construction of a tank by the king who belonged to the Kadamba family and conquered the Trekūṭa, Ābhīra, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Śakasthāna, Sayindaka, Puṇāṭa and Mokari. This record

by naming him who formed six mouths to suckle them simultaneously (cf. Skanda's names, Kārtikeya, Śiṣānana, Śayamātara, etc.). See *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 387 and note.

¹ The passage has been taken by some to mean that Mayūraśarman was anointed by Śiṣānana after he meditated on the Senāpati (i.e., Śiṣānana?). This interpretation is certainly untenable. The verb in *anudhyāya* (after favouring), which has here its subject in *śiṣānanaḥ* and its object in *yam*, is the same as in *anudhyāta* (favoured) in passages like *mahāsena-mātṛgaṇa-anudhyāt-ābhīpikāta* (favoured and anointed by Mahāsena and the Mothers) occurring in many Kadamba records.

² *Mahāsenāpati* evidently signifies Skanda; cf. his names Mahāsena and Senāpati.

is engraved on a boulder at the entrance of the Bhairaveśvara temple at Chāṇḍravalli in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and is so obliterated that it is difficult to be definite as regards the reading of some of the names mentioned in connection with Mayūraśarmaṇ's conquests.

I. Trekūṭa appears to signify the Traikūṭakas who probably received their name from the Trikūṭa mountain in Aparānta, mentioned by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*, IV, verses 58-59). An inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, p. 124f) of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa (circa 500-520) refers to the kingdom of Trikūṭa. The copper-plate grants of the Traikūṭaka kings are all discovered in the neighbourhood of Surat and Kanheri (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1199, 1200, 1202, etc.). The Kanheri grant of the year 245 (A.D. 493-94) of the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas refers to a monastery at Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanheri) itself. The Pardi inscription of Dahrasena is dated in year 207 (A.D. 455-56). The date of the Surat inscription of Vyāghrasena is the Traikūṭaka year 232 (A.D. 479-80). The evidence of the Traikūṭaka inscriptions thus shows that the family ruled in Southern Gujarat and the Koṅkan about the second half of the fifth century. It is possible that the Traikūṭakas ruled in the same place also about the time of Mayūraśarmaṇ. The era used in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions is said to be the same as the Kalacuri or Cedi era which begins from A.D. 243-49 (Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. clx-xlxi; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 294.)

Traikūṭaka coins have been discovered not only in Southern Gujarat and the Koṅkan, but also in the Marāṭhā country on the other side of the Ghats. Bhagwanlal Indraji noticed a Traikūṭaka coin mentioning the Parama-vaishnava Mahārāja Rudragana (śena), son of Mahārāja Indradatta (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 295 n.). The fact that the Traikūṭaka coin-types are very closely imitated from the Western Ksatrapa coins shows that they were intended for

circulation in districts where the Western Kṣatrapa coins had become familiar to the people. "Local conservatism in regard to coin-types is a marked characteristic of Indian numismatics" (Rapson, *loc. cit.*). It is therefore clear that the country of the Traikūṭakas was originally a part of the dominions of the Śaka kings of Ujjain. According to the Ajanta inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 138 ff.) the Trikūṭa country was conquered by the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa who appears to have ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

II. The earliest mention of the Ābhīras seems to be that in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 252 (*Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 36). There they are associated with the Sūdras. According to a verse of the *Mahābhārata*, these two tribes lived near the place where the Sarasvatī lost itself into the sands (*cf.* IX, 37, 1: *sūdr-ābhīrān prati dṛeṣād=yatra naṣṭā sarasvatī*). In another place however the epic places the Ābhīras in Aparānta (II, 51). The country of the Ābhīras has been mentioned as Abīria in the *Periplus* and as Abēria in the Geography of Ptolemy. According to the Greek geographer (*Geog.*, VII, i, § 55), the land about the mouth of the Indus was generally called Indo-Scythia which consisted of three countries, *viz.*, Patalônē (Indus delta), Abēria (Ābhīra country) and Sarastrônē (Kathiawar).

The *Purāṇas* (*e.g.*, *Vayu*, 99, v. 359) mention the Ābhīras who ruled after the Andhras (Śātavāhanas). An Ābhīra chief named Rudrabhūti is known to have served as general of a Śaka king of Ujjain. The Gunda inscription of Śaka 103 (A.D. 181), belonging to the reign of Rudra-siṃha I, records the digging of a tank by the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti. It is also known that for a time the Śaka Satraps of Western India were shadowed by an Ābhīra king named Maṅgharīputra Iśvarasena, son of Śivadatta. The Nasik inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 88) of this king records the investment of 1,500 *kārṣāpaṇas* in the trade-guilds

of Govardhana (Nasik) for the purpose of providing medicines to the monks dwelling in the monastery on the Trirāmi mountain.¹ Coins of a Mahākṣatrapa named Iśvaradatta have been found in Kathiawar. These are silver coins of the same style and type as the coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas. Iśvaradatta dates his coins in the regnal year and not in the Śaka era like the Western Kṣatrapas. According to Bhagwanlal Indraji, Iśvaradatta was probably an Ābhīra connected with the dynasty of Iśvarasena of the Nasik inscription, and it was Iśvaradatta who founded the Traikūṭaka era of A.D. 248-49. Rapson however has no doubt that Iśvaradatta reigned between A.D. 236 and 239,² that is to say, about ten years before the establishment of the Traikūṭaka era. It is not possible to determine whether the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas belonged to the same dynasty or race. It may however be said that the two groups of kings ruled over substantially the same territory and had a similar formation of names, which facts possibly suggest some sort of relation that may have existed between the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas (Rapson, *loc. cit.*).

III. We have already discussed the question of Mayūraśarman's quarrel with the Pallavas of Kāñcī. About the beginning of the fourth century, the Pallavas appear to have held sway not only over Andhrāpātha and Sātāhanirāṭṭha (Bellary district) in the north and the north-west, but possibly also over the Kuntala country in the west.

IV. Pāriyātrika seems to signify the people dwelling on the Pāriyātra mountain, which may be identified with the Aravelly Range and the Western Vindhya. According to

¹ The Nasik district "may have passed immediately into the power of these Ābhīras, either during the reign or after the reign of Śrī-Yajña, or it may have first been held by the Cuṣuṇa family of the Śātakarṇis, the 'other Andhras' or 'Andhra-śabṛtyas' ('servants of the Andhras') of the Purāṇas, who undoubtedly were in possession of the neighbouring maritime province of Aparānta" (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cxxiv).

² Bhanderkar places the rule of Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradatta between 188 and 190 A.D.

the Parāṇas (Vāyu, 45, 97-98; Mārkaṇḍeya, 57, 19-20), rivers like the Mahī, Caramavati (Chambal), Barpāsā (Banās), Siprā and Vetravati have their origin in the Pāriyātra or Pāripātra.

V. Śakasthāna is the country of the Śakas. It has been mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* (§ 38) as Scythia which was situated in the Lower Indus valley and was under the rule of Parthian chiefs, engaged in unceasing internecine strife. As has already been noticed, the Indian Śaka country is described in the Geography (VII, i, § 55) of Ptolemy as Indo-Scythia which included Patalênê, Abêria and Surastrênê. At the time of Mayūrasarman (middle of the fourth century A.D.), Śakasthāna seems to have signified the kingdom of the Śaka kings of Ujjain. The line of the Śakas of Ujjain was founded by Caṣṭana (a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy) in the first half of the second century. The Śakas continued their rule in that locality up to the beginning of the fifth century when Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha conquered Mālwā from Śaka Rudrasimha III (Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. cxlix ff.; Allan, *Catalogue*, p. xxxviii l.).

VI. Sayindaka has been suggested to be the same as the country of the Sendrakas. The Sendrakas are known to be of Nāga origin and their country is generally identified with the Nāyarkhaṇḍa or Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavāsī province, which possibly formed a part of the present Shimoga district of Mysore. The Sendraka-*viṣaya* is known to have been included in the dominions of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman II. The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of Kṛṣṇavarman II records the gift of a village called Palmaḍi which was in the Sendraka-*viṣaya*. A Sendraka chief named Bhānuśakti seems to have been a feudatory of the Kadamba king Harivarman (see the Halsi grant of the eighth year of Harivarman's reign; *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 31). After the fall of the Kadambas the Sendrakas transferred their allegiance to the Calukyas of Bādāmi, who succeeded

the Kadambas in the rule of the Kuntala region. A record of Pulakesin I (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 211 ff.), who was the first great emperor of the Calukya dynasty, mentions the Sendraka *rājā* Rundranīla Goṇḍa, his son Sivāra and grandson Sāmiyāra who ruled the Kuhoṇḍi-*viṣaya* (Belgaum district) with its headquarters at Alaktaka-nagara.¹ The Chiplun grant (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 50 ff.) says that the Sendraka prince Śrī-vallabha Senānanda-rāja was the maternal uncle of Pulakesin II. An inscription (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, pp. 228-29) of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I mentions the Sendraka chief Devaśakti who appears to have been his feudatory. According to the evidence of the Balagami record (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 142; *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sk. 154), the Sendraka Mahārāja Pogilli, a feudatory of Calukya Vinayāditya I, ruled over the Nāyarkhaṇḍa division which had a village called Jedugūr, identified by Fleet with Jedda in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district. The crest of the family of Pogilli was the elephant (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 192). In connection with a certain Satyāśraya (Pulakesin II?) a Lakshmesvar inscription mentions the Sendra (i.e., Sendraka) king Durgaśakti, son of Kumāraśakti and grandson of Vijayaśakti.

VII. Puṇḍāṭa has been taken to be the same as modern Puṇḍāḍu in the southern part of Mysore. Ptolemy seems to have mentioned it (*Geog.*, VII, i, § 86) as Pounnata where beryls were found. The country or district of Puṇḍāṭa was adorned by the rivers Kāverī and Kapinī. The capital of this ancient kingdom was Kīrtipura (Kittūr) on the Kapinī (Kabbanī) river in the Heggadadevanakōṭe taluka. The Komāraliṅgam and Māmballi plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 13; *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1917, pp. 40-41) belonging to early

¹ Records like the Bagumra (Nonsari district) grant (*Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, pp. 566-67) of the Sendraka prince Pṛthivīvallabha-Nikumbhallasakti, son of Kāṭhyaśakti and grandson of Bhānuśakti, dated in the year 406 (Cedi era 7-653 A.D.), show that the Sendrakas were granted jāgīrs in Southern Gujarat after the country was conquered by the Calukyas. Alaktakanagara = Lattalūr of Hāprakṛṣṇa records.

Punnāṭa rulers speak of the kings named Viṣṇudāsa, Rāṣṭra-varman, Nāgadatta, Bhujaga (son-in-law of Gāṅga Mādhava-Simbavarman ?), Skandavarman and Ravidatta, who belonged to the Tāmra-kāśyapa *kula*. According to the Gaṅga records, Gaṅga Avinīta, father of Durvinīta, married the daughter of Skandavarman, king of Punnāṭa. Gaṅga Durvinīta is known to have had a very long reign which covered more than forty years and, as we shall see, the Gaṅga king probably helped his daughter's son, Calukya Vikramāditya I, in securing the throne of Bādāmi about 654 A.D. The Punnāṭa king Skandavarman, Durvinīta's mother's father, must therefore have reigned in the second half of the sixth century. Some of the Gaṅga records assert that the Punnāṭa country formed a part of Durvinīta's kingdom. The country may have passed to Durvinīta as the heir of his maternal grandfather.¹

VIII. Mokari has been taken to signify the Maukharis of Eastern and Northern India. Inscriptions of the Maukhari kings have been discovered in the Jaunpur and Barabanki districts of U. P. and in the Gaya district of Bihar (Bbandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 10, 1601-1605; Corp. Ins. Ind., III, Intro. p. 14). The Haraha inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 115) of Maukhari Isānavarman is dated in Vikrama 611 (A.D. 544). About the sixth century a line of the Maukharis is known to have established themselves in the Kanauj region. Maukhari Grahavarman of this line married the sister of the illustrious Harṣavardhana (A.D. 606-647) of the Puṣyabhūti family of Thāneswar. The Chandravalli record however seems to refer to the Maukharis of Rajputana. Three inscribed *yūpas* (Kṛta year 295=A.D. 238) of a feudatory Maukhari family have been found at Baḍvā in the Kotah state (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 42 ff.).

¹ Dr. B. A. Saletore has written a paper on the kingdom of Punnāṭa in *Ind. Cult.*, III (October, 1926), p. 362 ff. His chronology is however based on the theories that Mayūradvarman ruled about the middle of the third century, and that Gaṅga Durvinīta reigned in the last quarter of the fifth century, which I consider to be inadmissible. Debenā's chronology is more reasonable (*Ind. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 107-9).

It is interesting in this connection to note that the tentative reading of the Chandravalli record does not speak of the Bāṇas who are, according to the evidence of the Talgunda record of Śāntivarman, known to have been harassed by Mayūrasarman. The Bāṇas were a very ancient ruling family in the Chittoor and North Arcot districts. According to Hultzsch (*S. Ind. Ins.*, III, p. 89) the capital of the Bāṇa dynasty seems to have been Tiruvallam which had the other name Vānapuram and belonged to the district of Perumbāṇappādi (the country of the Great Bāṇa). Tiruvallam is 40 miles west by north of Conjeeveram. On the evidence of the Penukonda Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331), it may be suggested that about the middle of the fifth century A.D., the Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and Skandavarman installed the Gaṅga feudatories Āyyavarman and his son Mādhan-Siṃhavarman for the purpose of crushing the Bāṇas who had possibly become unruly. The early history of the Bāṇas is wrapped up in obscurity. The earliest rulers of the family, whose time is known, are Vikramāditya-Bali-Indra who was a vassal of Calukya Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-739), and Vikramāditya who governed the country, "West of the Telugu Road," as a vassal of Pallava Nandivarman II (A.D. 717-79). See Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 3 ff., Sewell, *List*, p. 328.

According to Dr. M. H. Krishna (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 56), the Chandravalli inscription is to be assigned to *circa* 258 A.D. He suggests that the rise of Mayūra is to be placed between A.D. 250 and 260. All his arguments are however based on an untenable view regarding the date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman whom he places about the end of the first half of the third century A.D. It appears that Dr. Krishna too is inclined to place Mayūrasarman only a little later than Śivaskandavarman. Pallava Śivaskandavarman, as I have already shown, ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century. Mayūrasarman,

the language of whose Chandravalli record is a little more developed than that of the grants of Śivaskandavarman, should therefore be placed not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

The Malavalli inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 264) possibly also belongs to king Mayūrasarman. Here however the issuer of the grant is simply said to have been *kadam-bānam rājā* (king of the Kadambas) and *vaijayantī-dhamma-mahārājādhirāja* (Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja¹ of Vaijayantī or Banavāsī); but the name of the king is not mentioned. Nevertheless, as the Prakrit language of the record is later than that of the grants of Śivaskandavarman, the issuer of the Malavalli grant must have been either Mayūrasarman himself or his immediate successor.

The grant was executed in the fourth year of the king's reign, on the second lunar day of the first fortnight of autumn, under the first asterism Rohinī. The grant was in the form of a *Brahma-dijja* (Brahma-deya) which was meant for the enjoyment (*deva-bhoga*) of the god Maṭapaḥideva. It consisted of a number of villages which are said to have been previously granted by king Mānavyagotra Hārītiputra Śiva-

¹ Titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* were derived from *Rājādirāja*, etc., of the Śatyabhadra-Kuṣāṇas. They were first used in Northern India by the Guptas who were the political successors of the Kuṣāṇas in the sovereignty of Aryāvarta. In Southern India, the title *Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja* first appears in the Hirahadagalli grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. No other early Pallava king is known to have used the title. Śivaskandavarman himself has been called *Yasa-mahārāja* in the Mayidavolu grant. The early Guṇḍa kings call themselves *Dharma-Mahārājās*. Since no early Kadamba king is known to have been called *Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja*, may it be supposed that this title of the Kadamba king of the Malavalli record was an imitation of the title of Pallava Śivaskandavarman who, as we have suggested, was possibly overlord of the Kuntala region in the first quarter of the fourth century? May it be further suggested that the name of Mānavyagotra Hārītiputra Vaijayantīpati Śivaskandavarman who seem to have been the immediate predecessor of Mayūrasarman was after that of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, just like the name of the Guṇḍa king Maḍhave-Siṅghavarman was imitated from that of his father's overlord, king Siṅghavarman (A.D. 430-435) of Kāśī?

skandavarman, lord of Vaijyanti.¹ The Brahmadeya was granted for a second time, with all the *parihāras* including *abhāṭa-praveśa*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kauśikīputra Nāgadatta of the Koṇṇinya (Kaundinya) gotra, who is said to have been an ornament of the Koṇḍamāna-kula. The necessity of granting for a second time is said to have been the fact that the ownership of the estate was abandoned. The villages granted were Sōmapaṭṭi, Koṅginagara, Mariyāsā, Karpendūlā, Para-Muccuṇḍi, Kunda-Muccuṇḍi, Kappennalā, Kunda-Tapaka, Velaki, Vegūra, Koṇa-Tapaka, Ekkatṭhā-hāra and Sahalā. The king's oral order seems to have been written down by Viśvakarman and engraved on the stone-column by Nāgadatta who is possibly not the same as the donee.

The grant begins with an adoration to Malapalideva and ends with the *maṅgala* : *jayati lokanātha[h] nandaṁtu go-brāhmaṇa[h] ; siddhir=astu ; śrīr=astu*. This Sanskrit *maṅgala* at the end of a Prakrit grant reminds us of a similar *maṅgala* at the end of the Hirahadagalli Prakrit grant of Śivaskandavarman. Many of the Sanskrit grants of Mayūrasarman's successors also end with similar *maṅgalas*.

The above inscription is engraved on a pillar in front of the Kalleśvara temple at Malavalli in the Shikarpur taluka as a continuation of, as has already been noticed, an inscription dated in the first year of Mānavyagotra Hārītiputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śālakarpi, king of Vija-

¹ It has been suggested (e.g., in Lüders, *Leit.* No. 1196; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361) that Śivaskanda-varman was the name of the Kadamba king who issued the Malavalli grant. The composition of the record however clearly shows that the theory is untenable; cf. *vaijyanti-dharma-mahārājādhirāja patikula-samajhāyikacūpare kadambānāy rājā śivahadavarasapā mānavyagottena hārītiputrena vaijyanti-patind pavadatt=eti*, etc. It must be noticed that the word [kadambānāy] *rājā* with all the epithets preceding it is in the first case-ending, while *śivahadavarasapā* and all its epithets following it are in the third case-ending. Moreover, the epithet *vaijyanti-dharma-mahārājādhirāja* applied to *kadambānāy rājā* and *vaijyanti-patind* applied to *śivahadavarasapā* show beyond doubt that these two identical epithets refer to two different kings.

yantī (Banavāsī). This grant also begins with an adoration to the god Maṇipalīdeva for whose enjoyment a Devabhoga was granted in the king's first regnal year on the first lunar day of the second fortnight of summer. The *Devabhoga* was in the form of a Bahmadijja (Brahmadeya) of the *grāmahāra* (group of villages ?) of Sahalāṭavī which was granted to Takiñcīputra Koṇḍamāna who has been called Hāritīputra and is said to have belonged to the Kaundinya gotra, with all the *parihāras* like *abhaṭapraricā* and others.

It must be noticed that the Malavalli record of the Kadamba king also mentions Sahalā (*cf.* the *grāmahāra* of Sahalāṭavī of the present grant) and there the donee is one who belonged to the family of this Koṇḍamāna (*koṇḍamāna-kula-tīlaka*). Since the linguistic and palaeographical standards of the two Malavalli records agree in placing them very near each other in time, I think it possible that the *Koṇḍamāna-kula-tīlaka* Kauśikīputra Nāgadatta of the Kaundinya gotra (donee of the Kadamba grant) was the son of Takiñcīputra-Hāritīputra Koṇḍamāna of the Kaundinya gotra (donee of the Cuṭu Śātakarṇi grant).¹ We should however notice the facts that in the Kadamba record the twelve villages including Sahalā are said to have been previously granted by a Vaijyanti-pati named Śivaskandavarman and that the ownership of the estate is said to have been abandoned. It may be supposed that Sahalā was granted by Viphukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, while the eleven other villages were granted by Śivaskandavarman who was possibly the former's immediate successor. It is however possible to suggest that the *grāmahāra* of Sahalāṭavī consisted of the twelve villages mentioned. In the terminology of later inscriptions it would be like "the Sahalā Twelve" or "the Sahalā-mahāgrāma." The cause of abandoning the

¹ See, e.g., *Narajithiya* a, V, verse 124, in which Nala, son of Virasena, has been described as *virasena-kula-tīpa*.

ownership of the estate by the heir of Koṇḍamāna seems to have been the political troubles caused by the rise of Mayūraśarman. The case appears to be the same as that suggested in connection with Śivaśarman who received the village of Polamuru from Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin, and with his son Rudraśarman who fled to Asanapura during the Calukya invasions and received back his father's *agrahāra* from Jayasimha I Eastern Calukya when the latter was established in the Guddavādi viṣaya (see *above*, p. 167 ff.)

The order of king Vinhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulananda Śātakarṣi for the execution of the Malavalli grant is said to have been given to a *Rajjuka* whose name was possibly Mahābhava. *Rajjuka* (from *rajju*) has been taken to be the same as a class of officials described by Megasthenes (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 53-54). These officials are said to have measured the land, collected taxes, superintended rivers and the occupations connected with land, enjoyed the power of rewarding and punishing, inspected sluices, constructed roads and carried out other works of public utility. Some of these have been described as the functions of the *Rajjuka* or *Rajju-gāhaka-amacca* in the *Kurudhamma-Jātaka*. From the inscriptions of Aśoka we know that the *Rājūkas* (i.e., *Rajjukas*) were appointed over many hundred thousands of men and were placed in direct charge of the *jānapada jana*; they therefore seem to have been the highest district officers (see Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., pp. 59-60). The *Rajjukas* were possibly employed in this region when Kuntala formed a part of the Maurya empire. The existence of such an official in South-Western Deccan about the beginning of the fourth century shows that the official machinery of the Maurya age was still functioning in Southern India (see Bayleclaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 321).

KAṢṢAVARMAṆ, BHAGĪRATHA AND RAGHU

According to the Talgunda inscription, Mayūraśarmaṇ was succeeded by his son Kaṅgavarmaṇ. In the Satara treasure trove four Kadamba coins have been found to bear the legend *skandha* which Moraes takes to be a mistake for *kaṅga* (*op. cit.*, p. 382). The suggestion however is doubtful. Another writer suggests (see *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361) that Skanda was the real name of the son of Mayūraśarmaṇ and that he was the same as Sivaskandavarmaṇ of the Malavalli record. We have already shown (*above*, pp. 166-67) that the identification of the names Sivaskanda and Skanda is not quite happy. It has also been proved that Sivaskandavarmaṇ of the Malavalli record did not belong to the Kadamba family, but was possibly a scion of the Oṭṭu Śātakarṇi dynasty of Kuntala.

The same Talgunda inscription says that Kaṅgavarmaṇ was succeeded on the Kadamba throne by his son Bhagīratha. The coins in the cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute (St. Xavier's College, Bombay) with the representation of lions and the word *śrī* and with the legend *bhagī* in Hale-Kaṇṇaḍa characters have been taken to be the issues of this king (*Kadambakula*, p. 382). But the Kadamba coins (even if the Early Kadambas issued coins) have not yet been studied, and we are not definite if these coins can be assigned to the Kadambas.

Rev. Heraś has pointed out (*J.B.O.R.S.*, XII, p. 458 ff.) that the story of Kālidāsa being sent as an embassy of Vikramāditya (possibly Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty) to the court of the king of Kuntala is referred to in

the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja and possibly also in the *Aucitya-vicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra (not of Hemacandra; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 200). He suggests that this Kuntala king was Bhagīratha and that Kālidāsa was sent in order to contract a matrimonial alliance that has been referred to in a passage of the Talgunda inscription which says that Kākusthavarman, son of Bhagīratha, married his daughters in the families of the Guptas and other kings. The theory of Rev. Heras however seems to me to be based on a tissue of assumptions. As has already been pointed out by N. Lakshminarayana Rao (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 199), in the passage of the Talgunda record, king Kākusthavarman, and not his father Bhagīratha, has been credited with the family alliance. We have already suggested that Kākusthavarman appears to have ruled in the first half of the fifth century A.D. He was therefore contemporary of the Gupta king Kumāragupta I (circa 415-455 A.D.), the successor of Candragupta II (circa 375-415 A.D.). It is possible that a son or a grandson of any of these Gupta kings was the son-in-law of Kadamba Kākusthavarman.¹

¹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*The Vākāṭakas and their place in Indian History*, p. 41 ff.) and apparently following him, Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 201) think that the king of Kuntala to whom Candragupta II is supposed to have sent an embassy was a king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It is pointed out that the *Bhāratavarṇana* in *Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, V, p. 40 mentions the author of the well known Prakṛit poem *Setubandha* as a Kuntalada, while Bhaṭṭa in the *Haracarita* (Intro., verse 14) tells us that the poem was composed by Pravarasena, who has been identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. According to them, the Vākāṭakas were also known as " Lords of Kuntala." The theory is however untenable in view of the fact that the country of Kuntala has been described as a separate political unit in the records of the Vākāṭakas themselves. According to the Balaghat plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 200 ff.), Narendrasena, son of Pravarasena II, was married to Ajñita-Bhaṭṭarikā who was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. The Ajanta inscription (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 138 ff.) says that the Vākāṭaka king Pythivīman, father (?) grandfather of Pravarasena II, conquered the lord of Kuntala. That the Kuntala country did not form a part of the Vākāṭaka dominions is also proved by the fact that according to the same inscription, Harisena who was the last great king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty claims to have conquered Kuntala once again. Of course, the Kadambas of Kuntala may, for some time, have

Bhagīratha was succeeded by his son, king Raghu. Nothing important is known about his reign except the fact that his younger brother Kakusthavarma was a *Yuvārāja* during his reign and was possibly in charge of the district round Palāśikā (modern Halsi).

acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākātakas; but that would hardly justify Pravarasena II being called *kuntal-śai*. Moreover, the *Parāvas* (e.g., *Vāgn*, 99, 365-66) describe the Vākātakas as *vaidātaka* (belonging to Viśāṭā), and the Vākātake grants show that the Vākātakas ruled from the Vidarbha region in northern Deccan (see Bhandarkar, *List*, [Nov. 1703-12]).

The mention of a Vākātake king as "Lord of Kuntala" in the *Bharatavarsha* only shows that its author lived in (or referred to) a period when the name Kuntala extended over the greater part of Western and Southern India, e.g., in the age of the Chalukyas who have been described as Kuntalar, "Lords of Kuntala," in the *Kahālaguttaparajī* (see above, p. 215, note 3). The Early Chalukyas may be supposed to have been political successors of the Vākātakas in the Deccan.

VI

KĀKUSTHAVARMAN AND ŚANTIVARMAN

Raghu was succeeded by his younger brother Kākusthavarman¹ who was possibly ruling the Palāśikā division of the Kadamba kingdom as a governor during his elder brother's reign. Only one inscription of Kākusthavarman has so far been discovered.

The grant of Kākusthavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 23) begins with the word *namaḥ*, and a verse² which says, "Victorious is the holy Jinendra who abounds in good qualities and is renowned as being extremely compassionate, and the banner of whose tenderness which comforts the three worlds is lifted up on high." Some of the grants of Mṛgeśavarman and Ravivarman begin with the same verse.

The grant was issued from Palāśikā (modern Halsi on the road to Nandigarh in the Bīdī taluka of the Belgaum district) in the eightieth year of Kākusthavarman, the Yuvarāja of the Kadambas, who claimed to have enjoyed the general good wish of the subjects. We have already seen that the date of Kākusthavarman's grant is supposed to "be the eightieth year from the *pañṭabandha* of his ancestor Mayūrasarman, which is mentioned in the Talgunda inscription." But since there is no proof that the Kadambas had any era like that, it may not be unreasonable that the date should be referred to the era of the Gupta with whom Kākustha was matrimonially related.

¹ The correct form of the name would be *Kākusthavarman* (literally, one whose shield, i.e., protector, is Kākustha, i.e., Kāśasandra). In the Kadamba grants however the name of the king is invariably spelt *Kākusthavarman*.

² *Jayeti bhagānā jineन्द्रa gūṇarandrah prathita-purāṇa-kāruṇikah, Traṣṭohy-śiṣṭakari dyaḥ-patāh = ॐ शिवो गगन्*.

By this grant a field called Badovara-kṣetra in the village called Kheṭa-grāma, which belonged to the holy Arhats who are said to be the refuge of the created beings and the saviours of the three worlds, was given to the general Śrutakīrti as a reward for saving the prince. It is said that the confiscators of the field, belonging to the king's own family or of any other dynasty, would be guilty of the *pañca-mahāpātaka*. According to the Jains, the five great sins are destruction of life, lying, stealing, unchastity and immoderate desire. The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the adoration: *namo namo; ṛṣabhāya namaḥ*. Ṛṣabha is the first Arhat and the first of the twenty-four Jain *virthaṅkaras* (sanctified teachers) of the present age.

As we have already seen, the Talgunda inscription says that king Kākusthavarman "by means of his rays which were his daughters caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups which were the royal families of the Guptas and others." In this connection it is interesting to note that, in the Balaghat plates (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270 f.), the Vākāṭaka king Prthivīśena II is said to have been the son of Narendrasena by the Mahādevī Ajjībhāṭṭārikā who was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. The Vākāṭaka prince Narendrasena was grandson of Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II. Dubreuil thinks (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 100) that Vākāṭaka Narendrasena, great-grandson of Candragupta II, was the son-in-law of Kākusthavarman and that the Talgunda record refers to this indirect relation of the Kadambas with the Guptas. If this suggestion is to be believed Ajjībhāṭṭārikā was a daughter of Kākusthavarman. It is however also possible that another daughter of Kākustha was actually given in marriage to a Gupta prince of Pāṭaliputra, who was possibly a son or grandson of Candragupta II or Kumāragupta I.

There is a lithic record in box-headed characters (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R. 1911, pp. 33, 35) on the right jamb

of the doorway of the Praṇaveśvara temple at Talgunda, which speaks of a certain Kākustha of the Bhaṭṭāri dynasty¹ and of his mother Lakṣmī who is said to have been born in the Kadamba family. Since Kākusthavarman is known to have had several daughters and since grandsons are sometimes seen to bear the names of the maternal grand-fathers (cf. E. Calukya names *Rājarāja* and *Rājendra*), it is possible that Lakṣmī, the mother of the Bhaṭṭāri chief Kākustha, was another daughter of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman. Thus Kākusthavarman appears to have been matrimonially related to the Guptas, Vākātakas and the Bhaṭṭāris.

The son of Kākusthavarman was king Sāntivarman. The famous Talgunda inscription was engraved at the time of this ruler. The Talgunda inscription begins with an adoration to Śiva and a verse eulogising the god.² It records the construction of a tank in the premises of a *siddhālaya* (temple) of lord Bhava (i.e., Śiva) by Kākusthavarman. It is also said that the *siddhālaya* was formerly *abhyarcita* (worshipped at) by Sātakarpi (possibly a king of the Coṭṭa family) and others. The record ends with the following *māṅgalā*: *nandatu sarva-samant-āgato = 'yam = adhivāsah ; svasti prajābhyaḥ*. It is sometimes supposed that the Talgunda record was engraved by Sāntivarman when he was a governor of Sthānakundūra (Talgunda) during the reign of his father. But passages like *grheṣu yasya lakṣmy-āṅganā dhṛtimatī sucirāṃ ca reme, yam.....sāmanta-cūḍā-maṇayaḥ praṇemuḥ*, etc., show that king Kākusthavarman was dead at the

¹ The epithet *bhaṭṭāri varṇa-līlaka*, applied to the chief named Kākustha, may also suggest that the name of the chief's father was Bhaṭṭāri. See above, p. 250 and note. The record speaks of one Paśupati devoted to lord Paśupati, i.e., Śiva. Kākustha is said to have been chief among the ten Maṅgalikās and had the control of *śālā*. He is also said to have pleased his master, the *krīṭya*. The record also refers to the residents of Sthānakūṭapura-tirtha which may be the same as Sthānakundūra or Talgunda. The record has been assigned palaeographically to about the middle of the fifth century.

² *Jupatī cūḍāra-maṅghā-nich-aika-mūrtiḥ suvātanaḥ Sthāpur=inda-rāmā, vicchūrīta-dyutimaj-jūṭā-khāra-maṅganah*.

time when the Talgunda inscription was engraved. The record moreover speaks of the rule (*śāsana*) of king (*nṛpati*) Śāntivarman who has been described as *paṭṭa-tray-ārpaṇa-virājita-cāru-mūrti* which means to say that the king wore three diadems or crowns (*paṭṭa*; see *Raghu*, XVIII, v. 44), that is to say, had three kingdoms in his possession. It is not clear whether he received the three *paṭṭas* from his father or from a Pallava over-lord (Pallavendra Śāntivara of the Hebbata grant?) like his ancestor Mayūrasarman.

It is interesting in this connection to note that the Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) records the gift of a village in the Sindhubhaya-rāṣṭra, made by the Kadamba Dharma-Mahārāja Viṣṇuvarman with the permission of (*anujñāpya*) his *jyeṣṭhapitā* Śāntivarman-dharmamahārāja who has been described as *vaijayanti-tilaka-samagra-karṇāṭa-bhūcarga-bhartā*. If this Śāntivarman is to be identified with the son of Kākusthavarman, one of the latter's three *paṭṭas* seems to refer to the kingdom of his feudatory Viṣṇuvarman. Another *paṭṭa* possibly refers to the Vaijayanti (Banavāsi) division of the Karṇāṭa country, which appears to have been under the direct rule of Śāntivarman.

If the above identification is to be accepted (see *infra*), we see that the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I (father of Viṣṇuvarman) who celebrated the Aśvamedha, and was a very powerful ruler and possibly had the whole of Karṇāṭa (consisting of three kingdoms?) under him, was a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Śāntivarman who was the *jyeṣṭha-pitā*¹ (father's elder brother) of Viṣṇuvarman. We also see that Kṛṣṇavarman I who was presumably dead when his son

¹ The word *jyeṣṭha-pitā* is synonymous with *jyeṣṭha-tāto* and *pūtrijyeṣṭha*, 'a father's eldest brother'. See the Mira grant of Jayasitha II (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 112, l. 4) and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 30 n.

Viṣṇuvarman was Dharma-Mahārāja under his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* ruled before his elder brother Śāntivarman. It will be seen below that the great Kṛṣṇavarman was defeated and probably killed in a battle with the Pallavas. May this fact suggest that, after the death of Kṛṣṇavarman who usurped the throne, the rightful heir of Kākusthavarman got the possession of the entire Kārṇāṭa country with the help of the Pallavas who defeated the usurper?¹ It is also to be noted that according to the Hebbata grant Viṣṇuvarman himself is also known to have been anointed by a Pallava king.

An inscription in front of the Durgi temple at Jambhalli in the Sorab taluka (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb, 44) has been attributed by Moraes to the Kadamba king Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman. This record was written by Kannaya, the minister for peace and war. According to it, when Śāntivarman-arasa was ruling the [Banavāsī] Twelve Thousand, Kannaya built two temples and made a tank; having come and seen them, the king granted a *mattal* of riceland to the priest of the temples. The inscription however is in the Kannaḍa language and bears the date Śaka 894 (A.D. 972). There is therefore no reason to believe that it belongs to the Kadamba king Śāntivarman who ruled about the middle of the fifth century. Śāntivarman-arasa of the Jambhalli record obviously belonged to a vice-regal family that ruled Banavāsī under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.² The fact that the date of the inscription falls about the decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power in A.D. 973, possibly explains why the name of the overlord is not mentioned in the record.

¹ It may be also suggested that Kākusthe was a feudatory of Pallava Śāntivara and named his son after his overlord. The *adramedhin* Kṛṣṇavarman became independent. He was succeeded by his elder brother, but the Pallavas supported his son. These suggestions are however only speculative.

² Was he identical with Śāntivarman of the Ratta family of Saundatti, who ruled in Northern Kuntala in 980?

VII

MṚGEŚAVARMAN

Sāntivarman appears to have been succeeded by his son Mṛgeśavarman whose last known date is year eight of his reign. The king was matrimonially connected with the Kekayas whose dominions appear to have comprised the present Chitaldrug district in north-eastern Mysore. An inscription (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911, pp. 33, 35) on the left jamb of the doorway of the Pragaveśvara temple at Talgunda describes queen Prabhāvatī, dear wife of Mṛgeśavarman-Dharmamahārāja and mother of Ravivarman-Dharmamahārāja, as *kaikeya-mahākula-prasūtā*. The inscription obviously recorded a grant made by Prabhāvatī; but only the beginning of the record survives.

The following inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman's time have been discovered :—

I. The Banavasi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) begins with practically the same verse¹ as is found at the end of the Devagiri plates of Yuvarāja Devavarman, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I. It is in adoration of the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds.

The grant was issued under the asterism Uttarabhādrapada on the tenth lunar day of the *Bahula* (sic. *Śukla*)-*pakṣa* of Kārttika in Mṛgeśavarman's third regnal year which was a Pauṣa saṃvatsara, when the king was at Vaijayantī. We have already tried to show that the date corresponds to October 24, A.D. 437, and to October 27, A.D. 472, of which the latter appears to be the actual date of Mṛgeśavarman's grant.

In this record Mṛgeśavarman is called the son of Sāntivarman and born in the family of Kākustha. Another

¹ *Jagaty-urharyo-trilokasah. sarva-bhūta-hite ratah.*
Rāg-ādya-ri-hāro = 'nanto = 'nanto-jāna-dṛg-jīvarah.

important point is that it describes the Kadambas not only as Mānavya-sagotra but also as Āṅgirasa which appears to show that the family actually belonged to the Āṅgirasa gotra.

The grant records the gift of some black-soil lands (*kṛṣṇabhūmi-kṣetra*), forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, in the village called Bṛhat-Paralūra to the devine supreme Arhat whose feet are rubbed by the tiara of the lord of gods, for the purpose of the glory of sweeping out the temple, anointing the idol with ghee, performing worship and repairing anything that may be broken (*sammārjan-opalepan-ābhyarcana-bhagnasamśkāra-mahimā*). These forty *nivartanas* of land lay within the western boundary of the village. A field, four *nivartanas* by the ordinary measure (*kṣetra-nivartana*), was also granted along with one *nivartana* outside the Caityālaya for the purpose of decorating the idol with flowers, and one *nivartana* that was the measure of the *aṅgana* (court-yard) of the *devakula*.

The grant quotes the usual imprecatory verses and refers to the unresumable character of lands that have been given with libations of water, enjoyed by three generations and have been preserved by good people.

The *paṭṭikā* (grant) is said to have been written by Dāmakīrti-Bhojaka.

II. Another Banavasi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 37-38) of *śrī-cijāya-śiva-Mṛgeśavarman*¹ was issued on the full-moon day of the eighth fortnight of Varṣā (rainy season) in the fourth year of the king who was residing at Vaijyanti. The form of dating refers to a primitive division of the year into three seasons of eight fortnights each. Traces of this primitive division are to be found in the ancient

¹ K. B. Pathak on the strength of this form of the name identified (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 15), Mṛgeśavarman with Mahārāja Sivakumāra who is mentioned by Hala-chandra in his introductory remarks on the *Prakṛtasthāna*, as having for his preceptor the well-known deity Padmanandi-Kopāskunda. The identification is fantastic.

Indian custom of performing *cāturmāsya* (four-monthly) sacrifices at the beginning of each season on the full-moon days of the months of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika. In connection with the above date of Mrgeśavarman's record it is interesting to note that an inscription of his son Ravivarman is dated on the tenth lunar day of the sixth fortnight of Hemanta (winter). It is also to be noted that both of these grants record some gifts made in favour of Jain ascetics. It is therefore almost certain that the ancient form of dating in these cases was due to Jain influence. To the ascetics of ancient times the year seems to have been divided into three seasons, viz., *grīṣma*, *varṣā* and *hemanta*, each of which was subdivided into eight fortnights.

In this record the *canśas* of the king's father and mother are said to have been pure. Mrgeśa himself is described as learned in various *śāstras* and skilled in exercises like riding. He is also said to have fought in many battles and acquired much wealth by the power of his arms. He was a giver of cows, lands, gold, clothes, food and many other things.

By this grant, *śrī-vijaya-śiva*-Mrgeśavarman, the Dharma-mahārāja of the Kadambas, made a gift of the village called Kālavaṅgā. The village was divided into three equal portions, the first of which was given to the holy Arhat and great Jinendra residing in the Purva-mahac-chālā; the second portion was granted for the enjoyment of a *saṃgha* (sect) of the Svetapaṭṇ¹ (i.e., Svetāmbara Jain) Mahāśramaṇas, and the third for the enjoyment of a *saṃgha* of the Nirgrantha (i.e., Digambara Jain) Mahāśramaṇas. Future kings are requested to protect the grant according to the *derabhoga-sāmaya* in order to provide money for *deva-bhāga*, *dhānya*, *deva-pūjā*, *vali*, *caru*, *deva-karma-kara* and *bhagna-kriyā-pravartana*. The record ends with the usual verses.

¹ See Bhandarkar's List, No. 2985 and note.

The charter was written by a *senāpati* named Naravara. The seal attached to the plates is indistinct, but seems to bear the device of the sitting or standing figure of a god or man. According to Fleet, the figure may be meant for a Jinendra. This suggestion however cannot be accepted until it is definitely proved that Mrgešavarman was a Jain.

III. In the Hire-Sakuna grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, p. 12) the king has been called Mrgešavaravarman and the son of Kākustha's dear son. It was issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the eighth regnal year of the king when he was residing at Vaijyanti.

The grant records the gift of a village called Kadalakani and some *vāstuka-kṣetra* (house-site) along with Perddalā to a Brāhmaṇa named Kratusomaśarman who seems to have belonged to the Gautama gotra. In connection with the boundary of the lands are mentioned Virajā which seems to have been a river, a field called Karvvelli, a river called Venṇa, Palavakkeṇi, Kadaṭṭkūra, Kāḍakorasa and a confluence of rivers (Virajā and Veṇṇa?). The *bhojaka*s or free-holders of the locality were informed of the king's grant (*deśa-grāma-grāma-bhojakānām śrāvita-śrāvaṇam kṛtvā*). The village was granted all the *parihāras* and was made *a-bhaṭṭa-praveśa*. The record ends with the usual verses.

The legend on the seal attached to the Hire-Sakuna plates reads *śri-mrgešavaravarmanah*.

IV. The adoration with which the Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of Mrgešavarman's eighth regnal year begins is the same as that at the beginning of Kākusthavarman's grant. In this record the king has been called a *dharma-vijayī* and has been described as the dear eldest son of Śāntivaravarman and the grandson of Kākusthavarman. He is also called the uprooter of the Gaṅgas (*tunga-gaṅga-kul-otsādi*) and the very fire of destruction to the Pallavas

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(*pallava-pralay-ānala*). We have seen that Mrgeśa possibly began to rule in A.D. 470. His Gaṅga contemporary therefore seems to have been either Āyyavarman who was installed by the Pallava king Simhavarman (436-37 to *circa* 458 A.D.) of Kāñcī or probably Āyyavarman's son Mādhava-Simhavarman whose Penukonda plates have been assigned by Fleet to *circa* 475 A.D. Mrgeśa's Pallava contemporary was probably king Skandavarman, the son of Simhavarman and the overlord of the Gaṅga king Mādhava-Simhavarman (see *above*, p. 176).¹ The reference to the Pallava overlords together with their Gaṅga feudatories appears to prove that Mrgeśavarman had to fight hard with his eastern neighbours.

While residing at the city of Vaijayantī, the king, through devotion for his father who was dead, caused to be built a *jinālaya* at the city of Palāśikā and gave to the holy Arhats thirty-three *niśantanas* of land between the river Māṭṣarīt and the sacred confluence of rivers (Māṭṣarīt and Inḡinī ?) called the Inḡinī-saṅgama. The grant was made for the benefit of the Yāpanīyas, Nirgranthas and the Kūrcakas who were apparently sects of Jain ascetics. Nirgrantha is the same as the Digambara sect. The word *yāpanīya* seems to signify "those who go away," *i.e.*, the mendicants who are going away and not staying.

The date of the grant is given as the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika in the king's eighth regnal year which was a Vaiśākha saṃvatsara. We have already seen that the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika of his third year fell in the Pauṣa saṃvatsara. This fact seems to show

¹ Mr. Moras suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 32-33) that Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa was possibly the Pallava contemporary of Mrgeśavarman. He takes the title *Yuvamahārāja* as signifying Viṣṇugopa's subordinate position to the Kadamba king. *Yuvamahārāja* however means a crown-prince and never signifies a feudatory ruler. Pallava Viṣṇugopa could not have been the crown-prince, *i.e.*, heir, of Kadamba Mrgeśavarman.

that the same lunar day of the next Vaiśāka samvatsara fell in his seventh regnal year. We are possibly to suppose that the eighth year of Mrgeśa's reign began in between the *śukla-dāśamī* and the full-moon day of Kārttika. The king then would appear to have ascended the throne on a day between those two *tithis*.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was a Bhojaka named Dāmakīrti; all other functions were performed by the Āyuktaka Jiyanta. According to Fleet, *Bhojaka* is the name of a class of officiating priests in Jain temples. It is however generally taken in the sense of free-holder (*ināmdār*) which seems to be better. It may be noticed that a person named Śrutakīrti who has been called a *senāpati* (general) in the grant of Kākusthavarman has been mentioned as Bhoja Śrutakīrti in an undated Halsi grant of Ravivarman. Āyuktaka generally means the governor of a district. Jiyanta who has been called *sarcasy* = *ānuṣṭhātā* was probably entrusted with the construction of the Jinālaya.

The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the *maṅgala* : *siddhir = astu*.

V. The Hitnahebbagilu grant (*Ep. Carn.*, IV, p. 130; Hs. 18) of *śrī-vijaya-śīva*. Mrgeśavarman begins not with the usual adoration to Jinendra, but with a verse adoring lord Brahman.¹ It must be noted in this connection that this grant was made in favour not of any Jain institution but of a Brāhmaṇa, described as an *āthareyaṇika* and *veda-vedāṅga-eit*. Are we to suppose that Kīrtivara, the writer of the present record, was a Brahmanical Hindu worshipper of Brahman, while the grants showing considerable Jain influence were written by devout Jain officials of the king? It is known that Mrgeśavarman and Ravivarman

¹ *Jayati sur-āuro-mahāṣa-praṇihita-
mani-kīraṇa-likhita-carana-gaṇaḥ ;
dāṇḍa-komaṇḍala-hastak
padma-prasar-āsano brahmā.*

favoured Jainism; but it is not definitely known whether they were Jains themselves. While in this record the king is called *dharmajña* like Yudhiṣṭhira, *satyarādī* like Prātardana and *brahmaṇya* like Viṣṇu, his Banavasi grant, as we have already seen, describes the supreme Arhat as having his feet rubbed by the tiara of Indra. It is thus difficult in the present state of our knowledge to form a definite idea about the religion of Mrgeśavarman.

The Hitnabebbagila grant was issued on the tenth lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśīras when the king was residing at Vaijayanti. Mrgeśavarman is described as a giver of cows, lands, villages, gold and other things (*go-sahasra-nava-kṣetrahala-dhanni ?-grāma-hiranyādī*).

The grant records the gift of a village called Kilupī-rilli to a Brāhmaṇa named Sarvasvāmīn, son of Piṅgala-svāmīn who belonged to the Aupagahāṇi gotra. It was made in accordance with the law of the Brahmadeyas, with libations of water and *dakṣiṇā*. The village was granted the *parihāras* called *abhaṭa-praveśa* and *antaḥkara-viṣṭika* which we find referred to in the Kudgere grant of Māndhātṛvarman (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12). It is also said to have been exempted from *pāṅgolkota* the meaning of which is not quite clear.

Some verses quoted at the end of the record are said to be the words of Bhīṣma and Rāma. The *paṭṭikā* was written by Kīrtivara.

VIII

RAVIVARMAN

Mrgeśavarman was succeeded by his son Ravivarman who ruled at least up to the thirty-fifth year of his reign. This king is known to have annexed the Palāśikā division of the Karnaṭa country to his dominions which probably comprised the Vaijayantī and Uccaśṛṅgī divisions only. A Halsi grant of his son's fourth regnal year (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 30-31) suggests that the Uccaśṛṅgī division was governed by Ravi's younger (?) brother Śivaratha. Another Halsi grant of Ravivarman describes how the king killed Viṣṇuvarman (son of the usurper Kṛṣṇavarman I), defeated the latter's Pallava allies and established himself at Palāśikā. A damaged stone inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, p. 167) discovered at Kavadi in the Sorab taluka mentions a queen along with the name of Ravivarman, son of Mrgeśa. The record is written in four lines of verse; the first few letters of the lines however could not be deciphered. The epigraph has been taken to imply that at the death of Ravivarman one of his queens burnt herself with him as a *sati*. The following records of Ravivarman's time have so far been discovered.

I. The Nilambur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 146 ff.) of Ravivarman-Dharmamahārāja was issued when the king was at Vaijayantī. In this record the Kadamba family has been described as purified by the *acabhr̥tha-snāna* of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. As we shall see, the only performer of the Aśvamedha among the Early Kadambas was Kṛṣṇavarman I whose descendants generally refer to the celebration of the sacrifice in their grants. The Nilambur grant

bears the only instance in which the Aśvamedha of the usurper is referred to in a record of a king of the main line.

By this record the king granted on the full-moon day of Kārttika, for the increase of his own religious merit, a *pallī* called Multagi which was to the east of a *grāma* called Kīrūpāsāpī in the *viśaya* of Mogalūr. The grant was made in favour of a Yajurvediya Brāhmaṇa named Govinda-svāmin who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Another place called Malkāvu was also given along with Multagi. Multagi is mentioned in the Merkera plates of the Gaṅga king Koṅkapi-Mahādhirāja as the eastern boundary of a village called Badaṇeguppe which was granted to the Jinālaya of Talavananagara. Talavanapura and Talavananagara were the Sanskrit forms of Talakkāḍ or Talakāḍ, the Gaṅga capital, which still exists under the name of Talakāḍ, on the left bank of the river Kāverī about 28 miles to the south-east of Mysore (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 299). Badaṇeguppe is five or six miles south of Talakāḍ on the other side of the river. Mogalūr is supposed to be the same as Mugūr or Mullur which is also near Talakāḍ. The grant of two villages so near the Gaṅga capital proves the success of Ravivarman against the Gaṅgas. We have already seen that according to the evidence of a Halsi grant the Gaṅgas were 'uprooted' by the father of Ravivarman before the eighth year of his reign. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Gaṅgas were friendly towards the junior line of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The Gaṅga king Mādhava-Mahādhirāja is known to have married a granddaughter of Viṣṇuvarman who, as we shall see, was killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of Ravi's reign. Gaṅga Avinīta-Koṅkapi, son of Mādhava, has been described in the Gaṅga records as the beloved sister's son of Kṛṣṇavarman, evidently Kṛṣṇavarman II, grandson of Viṣṇuvarman (see *infra*).

The grant is said to have been made with gold and with libations of water. All the *parihāras* were granted.

Those who might confiscate the lands are said to be committing the *pañca-mahāpātaka*, while those who would protect the grant are said to be acquiring religious merit. The record ends with the imprecatory verses and with the *māṅgala*: *svasty=astu go-brāhmaṇebhyaḥ, prajābhyo-maṅgalam*.

II. The Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 28) of Rājā Bhānuvarman is dated on the tenth lunar day of the sixth fortnight of Hemanta in the eleventh year of the reign of his elder brother Ravivarman-Dharmamahārāja. The record begins with the usual adoration to Jinendra-guṇarundra and traces the royal genealogy from Kākusthavarman.

By this grant a piece of land, fifteen *nivartanas* by the royal measure, in the field called Kardamapaṭi in Palāśikā was assigned in a copper charter and was given to the Jinas by the Bhojaka Paṇḍara who was a worshipper of the supreme Arhat. Paṇḍara is said to have acquired the favour of Rājā Bhānuvarman, younger brother of Mahārāja Ravivarman. The *paṭi* seems to be the same as *paṭṭi* or *paṭṭikā* which as we have seen (*above*, p. 198) probably means a piece of land.

The lands were given free from the gleaning tax and all other burdens (*uñcha-kara-bhar-ādi-vivarjita*) in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on days of the full-moon.

Fleet suggested (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 29n) that Bhānuvarman may have ruled conjointly with his elder brother Ravi. The fact that the prince is simply styled Bhānuvarman-rāja while his elder brother has been called Dharma-mahārāja renders this theory untenable. Bhānuvarman seems to have been the governor of Palāśikā under king Ravivarman.

The grant ends with the usual impecatory verses. The seal attached to the plates is indistinct.

III. The Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 264) of Ravivarman's thirty-fifth year was issued when the king was at

Vaijayantī. Ravivarman, the Dharma-mahārāja of the Kadambas, is said to have been *kadamba-mahāsenāpati-pratima*¹ and *atyanta-pitr-bhakta*. The grant records the gift of four *nivartanas* of land at Sāregrāma to the temple of Mahādeva (*mahādev-āyatana*) that belonged to the *desā-mātya* named Nilakaṇṭha who was the king's *priya-vaidya* (favourite physician). The grant was made on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika in the thirty-fifth year of Ravivarman's reign. The land is said to have been in a field called Bāṇḍupukropi which lay between two tanks called Bāṇḍāre-taḍāga and Dāsa-taḍāga. The record mentions a Brāhmaṇa named Bharadvājārya who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was possibly also called Svāmi-pāśupata. He seems to have been the chief priest of the temple of Mahādeva.

IV. The undated Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 25-26) which begins with the usual adoration to Jinendraguṇarandra records an interesting history of a family that was favoured by Kākusthavarman and his descendants. It says that in former times the Bhoja named Śrutakīrti who acquired great favour of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman enjoyed the village of Kheṭa. We have seen that Kākusthavarman granted a field called Badovara in the village of Kheṭa to the *senāpati* Śrutakīrti for saving him. When Śrutakīrti died, Kākustha's son Śāntivarman was ruling the country. Then the village was again granted to the mother of Dāmakīrti (son of Śrutakīrti?) by Śāntivarman's son Mrgeśavarman for the sake of piety and in accordance with the direction of his father. The eldest son of Dāmakīrti was the *pratihāra* (door-keeper) Jayakīrti whose family is said to have been established in the world by an *ācārya* (or the *ācāryas*) called Bandhugena. In order to increase his good fortune, fame and family and for the sake of religious merit, Jayakīrti,

¹ See above, p. 240n.

through the favour of king Ravi, gave the village of Puru-Kheṭaka (i.e., larger Kheṭa or Kheṭaka) to the mother of his own father.

The grant further records that the lord Ravi established his ordinance at the great city of Palāśikā that Jinendra's glory, the festival of which used to last for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon day of Kārttika from the revenues of that village; that the learned men who were ascetics of the Yāpaniya sect and the chief amongst whom was Kumāradatta should, according to justice, enjoy all the material substance of that greatness during the four months of the rainy season; and that the worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens.

The record says, "That (land, etc.)—which has been conveyed by copper-charters under some ordinances accepted by previous kings—should be preserved by the king not inattentive to religion, having pondered over the misfortunes of being born again and again," and quotes the usual imprecatory verses. It also says that the grant which is bestowed with libations of water, is enjoyed by three generations, is preserved by good people and the grants which have been made by former kings are not resumed.

The record ends with the adoration *namo = namaḥ* and says, "Wheresoever the worship of Jinendra is kept up there is increase of the country; and the cities are free from fear; and the lords of those countries acquire strength."

V. Another undated Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 29-30) of Ravivarman records that the king granted four *nivartanas* of land to Jinendra. The actual donor of the land seems to have been Śrikīrti, brother of Dāmakīrti; the object of the grant was the increase of the religious merit of Dāmakīrti's mother. There are the usual imprecatory verses at the end of the record.

The most interesting point in the record is that it describes Ravivarman as established at Palāśikā after conquering the whole world, killing Viṣṇuvarman and other kings and uprooting Caṇḍadaṇḍa, the lord of Kāñcī.¹ The descendants of the usurper were hostile to the kings of the main line. Viṣṇuvarman however seems to have had to accept for some time the suzerainty of Śāntivarman. We have seen that, according to the Halsi grant of the eighth year of Mrgeśavarman, the king while residing at Vaijayantī built a Jinālaya at the city of Palāśikā and gave to the holy Arhat thirty-three *nivartana*s of land between the Māṭṣarīt and the Iṅgiṇī confluence. It possibly shows that Viṣṇuvarman ruled at Palāśikā as a vassal of the Vaijayantī kings at least up to the eighth year of Mrgeśavarman's reign.² The reference to his fight with Ravivarman shows that, possibly after the death of Mrgeśa, Viṣṇuvarman rebelled against the authority of the main line. The mention of the defeat and death of Viṣṇuvarman in connection with the establishment of Ravivarman at Palāśikā seems to suggest that the former was a king of the Palāśikā division of the Karpāta country. We have already seen that Ravi's

¹ *Śrī-aiṣṇavarman-prabhīṣṭa-narendrān
nihatya jīrṇa-grīhīṣṭa-samastān;
Uttadāpa-kāñcī-īrva-caṇḍadaṇḍam
palāśikāyān samastasthīta-sah.*

M. Govind Pai says (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, pp. 29-30): ".....when after the death of Kṛṣṇavarman I his son Viṣṇuvarman ascended the Kadamba throne, his cousin-brother (?) Ravivarman of the senior branch fought with him and defeated him and his Pallava ally Caṇḍadaṇḍa, seized the Kadamba crown and enthroned himself as king. As a consequence, Viṣṇuvarman was obliged to remove his court to a place called Kujaśūr (whence he issued his Hebbata grant)....." The verse however clearly says that Viṣṇuvarman was killed and could not therefore have removed to Kujaśūr after the battle. As has already been pointed out, Viṣṇuvarman was possibly the king of the Palāśikā division and not of the whole Kadamba country.

² It may also be suggested that Viṣṇuvarman originally ruled at the city of Kujaśūr whence his Hebbata grant was issued and that he occupied Palāśikā when he rebelled against his overlords of the Vaijayantī house.

younger brother Bhānuvarman was ruling at Palāśikā in the eleventh year of his elder brother's reign. The death of Viṣṇuvarman therefore seems to have occurred before the eleventh year of Ravi. Since Ravi appears to have ascended the throne earlier than A.D. 503, the date of Viṣṇuvarman's death appears to have fallen in the ninth or tenth decade of the fifth century.

As we have already suggested (*above*, p. 182) Caṇḍadaṇḍa, described as the lord of Kāñcī, may have been a *biruda* of Pallava Nandivarman (issuer of the Udayendiram grant) or of one of his successors. Since the twenty-second year of Nandivarman's grandfather Simhavarman is known from the *Lokaṭibhāga* to have fallen in A.D. 458, the above suggestion does not appear improbable.

The seal attached to the plates is said to have the device of a dog.

IX

HARIVARMAN

Ravivarman was succeeded by his son Harivarman who is the last known king of the main line. According to a late record (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 134) an early Sântara chief, named Tyāgi-Sântara, married the daughter of a Kadamba king, named Harivarman. This Kadamba Harivarman seems to be no other than the son of Ravivarman. Harivarman possibly began to reign in A.D. 588. About this time the Calukyas under Pulakeśin I became the greatest political power in Western Deccan and the Kadambas of Kuntala began to decline. It is not known whether Harivarman was a contemporary of Pulakeśin I. The Calukya king however seems to have come into conflict with the Kadambas in connection with the Aśvamedha which he performed.¹ Calukya Kṛtivarman I, son and successor of Pulakeśin I, has actually been said to have defeated the king of Vaijayantī in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa (*Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 16 ff.). In the Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 4 ff.) of Pulakeśin II, Kṛtivarman I has been described as the very night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. A reference

¹ According to Bilhapa (*Vikramāṅkadevavarāṇa*, 2, 54), the Calukya conquest in the southern region at first extended as far as Nāgerakhaṇḍa which is known to have formed a part of the Kadamba country. The Calukyas are generally believed to have been a foreign tribe who entered India along with the Hōgas. The different forms of the name of the family are Calkya, Calikya, Calukya, Cēulukya, Calukki, Calukiha and Cālukya. The Calukya family of Anhilwāḍa is commonly known as Solēki or Solēki. Prof. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*, p. 370 f.) is inclined to connect them with the Sālūkas (evidently the same as the Sālūka family of Orissa) of the Haraha inscription. Dr. P. C. Bagchi connects the Calukyas with the Sogdians who, according to him, are mentioned as Sālūka or Cālūka in the Purāṇas and who spoke the Cālūka Pāliśāc. See his excellent article on Sālūka, Cālūka and Cālūka Pāliśāc in *Journ. Dept. Let.*, XXI. In that case however we have to explain the Kanarese-looking original of the name Pulakeśin and the celebration of Aśvamedha by the first great king of the family. Possibly they entered India centuries before the time of Pulakeśin I.

to *kadamba-kadamba-kadambaka* in the Aihole record appears to suggest that Kīrtivarman I had to fight with the combined army of a confederacy of Kadamba kings. It will be seen below that in the sixth century there were other ruling branches of the Kadamba family than the lines of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I. In several grants, Kīrtivarman I is described as "establishing the banner of his pure fame in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavāsī and other (cities) that had been invaded by his prowess" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 346). After the death of Maṅgaleśa, there was a general renunciation of allegiance by the subordinate peoples, and Pulakeśin II had to reduce Banavāsī once again (*ibid.*, p. 350). In the Lakshmeswar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 111), Calukya Vikramāditya I is said to have defeated the Kadambas. The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, grandson of the ill-fated Viṣṇuvarman who was defeated and killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of his reign, describes Kṛṣṇavarman II as set out on an expedition against Vaijayantī (*vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrām* = *abhiprasthita*). In the nineteenth year of Kṛṣṇavarman (II)'s reign however we find the king stationed at Vaijayantī (*cf.* Sirsi grant; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268). It is not impossible that Kṛṣṇavarman II defeated Harivarman and occupied the throne of Vaijayantī before the nineteenth year of his reign.

The following grants of king Harivarman have so far been discovered :—

1. The Halsi grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 30-31) of Harivarman was issued in the fourth year of his reign on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna. It says that, at Uccaśṛṅgī, the king, at the advice of his father's brother (*pitṛeya*), named Śivaratha, gave such a promise as gladdened the heart of all people. In accordance with that promise, he made Candrakānta the principal donee and

gave to the possession of the *saṃgha* (sect) of Vāriṣeṇācārya of the Kūrcakas the village of Vasuntavāṭaka in the *viśaya*, called Suddikundūra,¹ with all the *parihāras*. The grant was made for the purpose of providing annually, at the great eight days' sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter (*car-ūpalepana-kriy-ārtham*) for the temple of the Arhat ; whatever might remain over after that was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect (or all sects ; cf. *sarva-saṃgha-bhojanāya*). The temple of the Arhat is said to have been built at Palāśikā by Mrgeśa,² son of the general Siṃha who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

The grant quotes the usual imprecatory verses and ends with a verse saying, " May the practice of sitting in abstract meditation which is the doctrine of the Arhat Vardhamāna and by which is effected even in the present age the destruction of the sins of worldly existence, flourish." It further adds an adoration to Vardhamāna, the last and the most celebrated of the Arhats of this age.

The seal attached to the plates is said to bear the legend *śrī-harivarmā*.

II. The grants of the early Kadambas generally begin with the word *svasti* or *siddham*. The Halsi grants of king Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 31-32 ; also pp. 30-31) however have both of these words at the beginning. The present grant was issued in the fifth year of Harivarman's reign when the king seems to have been residing at the *adhiṣṭhāna* of Palāśikā. The word *adhiṣṭhāna* generally means a city ; sometimes it also signifies the capital of a king. Palāśikā was possibly a secondary capital of the kings

¹ In *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 358, it has been suggested that Suddikundūra is to be identified with Siddhakeḍāra in Triparvata, mentioned in the Devagiri grant of Yuvarāja Devavarman. Since however Siddhakeḍāra was presumably the name of a field (or village; *keḍāra* means 'field') and Suddikundūra was that of a *viśaya*, the identification is doubtful.

² Siṃha may have been the general of Mrgeśavarman and named his son after his master.

of Vaijayantī from the time of Viṣṇuvarman's death and the annexation of the Palāśikā division by Ravivarman.

The grant records the gift of a village, called Marade, for the use of the holy people (*sādhu-jan-opayog-ārtham*) and for the purpose of *pūjā-saṃskāra* of a Caityālaya. The Caityālaya is said to have been the property of a sect of Śramanas, called Aharisṭi (*ahariṣṭi-samāhvaya-saṃgh-āncaya-vastu*). The Head of the Caityālaya was possibly the *ācārya* Dharmanandin. The word *śramana* signifies a Buddhist or a Jain religious mendicant or ascetic. The favour shown by Harivarman and his forefathers to the Jains suggests that this Caityālaya was a Jain temple. Jain adorations and *maṅgalas* are however absent in this record. Was it written by a non-Jain ?

The grant is said to have been made at the request of a Rājā, named Bhānuśakti, who belonged to the Sendraka family. The Sendraka chief Bhānuśakti who appears to have been the ruler of the Palāśikā division was evidently a feudatory of Harivarman.

Like other grants of the family, the record ends with some imprecatory verse. The seal attached to the plates bears the legend *śrī-harivarmanā* which is preceded and followed by *svastika*.

III. The Sangoli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 165) of Harivarman begins with a verse ¹ adoring lord Sambhu, and the king is expressly said to have been a *parama-māheśvara* (devout worshipper of Maheśvara). We have seen that, like many of the grants of Kākusthavarman, Mrgeśavarman and Ravivarman, the composition of the Halsi grant (No. 1) of Harivarman exhibits remarkable influence of Jainism. That Kākusthavarman and Śāntivarman were also favourable to Śaivism as they were to Jainism is proved by the Talgunda

¹ *Jagati dhruva-bāl-endu jagā-mukha-maṅjanaḥ,
Asādhya-nidhanat = śaṃbhur = viśveśvār = jagatām patiḥ.*

inscription. If it is not supposed that Harivarman became a *parama-māheśvara* after the date of his Halsi records, it may possibly be suggested that the early Kadambas of the main line were Śaivas who were exceptionally tolerant towards Jainism.¹ It is clear that many officials of the Kadamba kings were Jains; it is also known that a general, named Śrutakīrti, who was evidently a Jain, once saved the life of Kākusihavarman.

The grant was issued when the king was at Vaijayantī. The date of the record is given as the Viṣupa or Viṣuva day on the Amāvāsyā of Āśvayuja in the eighth year of Harivarman's reign. It has been found to correspond with Tuesday, September 22, A.D. 526 and with Thursday, September 21, A.D. 545. Mr. K. N. Dikshit who edited the Sangoli grant rightly prefers the second date. Kadamba Harivarman thus appears to have ascended the throne about A.D. 538.

The grant records the gift of a village, called Tedāva, with the *praeibhāgas* (literally, divisions; sic. *parihāras*?), *dakṣiṇā* and libations of water. The recipients were Śivaśarman, Prajāpatiśarman, Dhātṛśarman, Nandiśarman and Dharmaśarman of the Kaimbala gotra; Vaikuṇṭhaśarman, Vasuśarman, Nagaśarman and Maṇḍanaśarman of the Kālāśa gotra; Viṣṇuśarman, Prajāpatiśarman and Pitṛśarman of the Garga gotra; Kumāraśarman, Tvaṣṭṛśarman, Skandaśarman and Varuṇaśarman of the Kotsa gotra; Yaśośarman, Āryaśarman, Paśupatiśarman and Mitraśarman of the Śrīviṣṭha gotra; Vanaśarman of the Cauliya gotra; Prajāpatiśarman of the Valandata gotra; and Kumāraśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra.

The grant ends with the usual verses and the *māṅgala*: *siddhir=astu; namo hari-hara-hiraṇyagarbhebhyaḥ; svasti*

¹ The late tradition saying that Mayūrasarman (i.e., Mayūraśarman) was born of a drop of sweat that fell on the ground from the forehead of Śiva is to be noticed in this connection.

prajābhyaḥ. The adoration to the Hindu Trinity (viz., Hari, Hara, and Hiranyagarbha, i.e., Brahman) in a record wherein the king has been described as a devotee of Maheśvara seems to suggest that Harivarman was a Brahmanical Hindu with sense of exceptional religious toleration.

CHAPTER II¹

EARLY KADAMBAS : KṚṢṆAVARMAN'S LINE

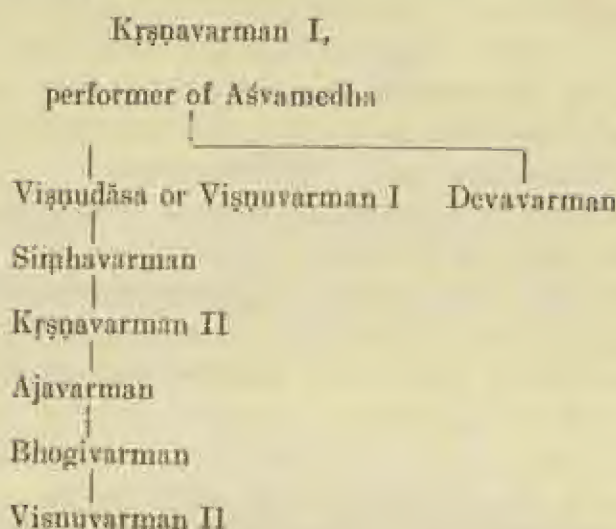
I

KṚṢṆAVARMAN I

The Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) was issued by a Kadamba Dharmamahārāja, named Kṛṣṇavarman II, who claims to have been the son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Viṣṇudāsa and great-grandson of Rājarāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described in this record as belonging to the Kadamba family which was rendered pure by the *arabhyrtha* bath taken during at the end of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Viṣṇudāsa, grandfather of Kṛṣṇavarman II, calls himself Viṣṇuvarma-Dharma-mahārāja and the son of the *aśvamedha-gājīn* (performer of the Horse-sacrifice) Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I in his own Birur grant (*ibid.*, VI, p. 91). According to the Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 33), Yuvarāja Devavarman, dear son (*priya-tanaya*) of the *aśvamedha-gājīn* Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I, appears to have been in charge of the Tripurvata division of the Kadamba kingdom. From the Tagare plates (*Mys. Ach. Surv.*, A. R., 1918, p. 35) of the Kadamba Mahārāja Bhogivarman, which describes the Kadamba family as sanctified by the celebration of Aśvamedha, we get the names of the following descendants of Kṛṣṇavarman II—his son Ajavarman, grandson Mahārāja Bhogivarman and great-grandson Viṣṇuvarman (II). From the evidence of the above inscriptions therefore the following genealogy of the

¹ This chapter was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV, pp. 361-19.

Early Kadambas is drawn :—



The exact relation of this line of kings with the line of Mayūraśarman is not yet established beyond doubt. We have seen that, according to the Birur grant, the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman I, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, is said to have granted a village, called Katattāka, in the Sindhu-thayā-rūṣṭra, with the permission of (*anuñāpya*) his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* (father's elder brother) Śāntivarman-Dharmamahārāja.¹ Śāntivarman has been described as *raṇa-rabhāsa-praveartlad-aṣṭādaśa-maṇḍapika-maṇḍita-vaijayanti-tīlaka-samagra-karṇāṭa-bhūvarga-bhartā*. We have also seen that, according to a Halsi grant of Ravivarman, that king is known to have killed king Viṣṇuvarman, extirpated the latter's Pallava ally Candadāṇḍa and established himself at Palāśikā which was

¹ From the cases of Bhānuvarman and Bhānukati we have seen that the governors of divisions of the Kadamba kingdom were called Rājā. In the Birur grant however both Śāntivarman and Viṣṇuvarman are called Dharmamahārāja. There may have been a difference in the position of Viṣṇuvarman with that of governors like Bhānuvarman and Bhānukati. He was possibly a subordinate king. In this connection, it is interesting to note that, in the Pennakonda plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331 E.) of *circa* 475 A.D., the Pallava overlord has been mentioned as Śaṅkavarman-Mahārāja, while his Gaṅga feudatory has been called Mādharva-Mahādhirāja.

possibly the headquarters of Viṣṇuvarman's kingdom. Since Viṣṇuvarman was killed in the early years of Ravivarman's reign, it is not unnatural to suppose that the former's *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, mentioned in the Birur grant of the third regnal year, is no other than Ravivarman's grandfather Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman.

The above identification has, however, been challenged by a recent writer on the subject, who points out that Viṣṇuvarman has been called *śāntivara-mahārāja-pallavendr-ābhīṣikta* (installed by the Pallava king Śāntivara-mahārāja) in the Hebbata grant and suggests that Śāntivarman, *jyeṣṭha-pitā* of Viṣṇuvarman, is to be identified with this Pallava king, named Śāntivara (i.e., Śāntivarman). See M. Govind Pai, *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 21.

The suggestion is ingenious; but there are difficulties in the way of accepting it as true without further evidence. Śāntivarman has been called the *jyeṣṭha-pitā* (father's elder brother) of Viṣṇuvarman. Though terms of relation were possibly rather loosely used in ancient time as they are now, this epithet would ordinarily suggest that Śāntivarman belonged to the Kadamba family. The suggestion that "not only one's father's elder brother.....is called as *jyeṣṭha-pitṛ*, but the husband of one's mother's elder sister is also called as such" can hardly be accepted without definite proof. Moreover, the *jyeṣṭha-pitā* of Viṣṇuvarman is described as "lord of the lands of the entire Karpāṭa country adorned with (the capital) Vaijayantī." This is hardly applicable to a Pallava king who presumably had his own kingdom outside the Karpāṭa-deśa. It is not impossible that the Kadamba kings prior to Kṛṣṇavarman I were feudatories to the Pallavas; but the above passage seems to suggest something more than mere suzerainty, and a theory that the whole of Karpāṭa, i.e., the entire Kadamba country, was, about the middle of the fifth century A. D., ruled by a Pallava king, named

Sāntivarā, cannot be accepted as certain without conclusive evidence. It must also be noticed that no king, named Sāntivarā, is as yet known to have belonged to the powerful Pallava houses of Kāñcī and of the Nellore-Guntur region. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to take the Dharmamahārāja Sāntivarman, *jyeṣṭha-pilā* of Viṣṇuvarman I, to be the same as the son of Kākusthavarman and grandfather of Viṣṇuvarman's later contemporary Ravivarman. Kṛṣṇavarman I, father of Viṣṇuvarman I, would thus appear to have been a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Sāntivarman. Since Kṛṣṇavarman I seems to have been dead at the time when his son was ruling as a feudatory Dharmamahārāja under his elder brother Sāntivarman, he possibly usurped the throne of Kākusthavarman and ruled before Sāntivarman. The fact that Sāntivarman, elder brother of Kṛṣṇavarman I, has been described not as the eldest son,¹ but as a *priya-tanaya* (favourite son) or *priya-hita-tanaya* (favourite and beloved son) of Kākusthavarman (see *Ind., Ant.*, VI, pp. 24, 28) suggests that the eldest brother of Sāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I, died and that his death was the cause of a struggle for the throne among the younger brothers of whom Kṛṣṇavarman I came out eventually victorious.

We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman I, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was installed on the throne by a Pallava king, named Sāntivara. The cause of this seems to be the fact that though Viṣṇuvarman was the eldest son and the rightful heir to the

¹ Eldest sons are generally specified in the Kadamba grants. A Halei grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of Mrgedavarman says, *śrī kākustha-narendrasya tamar-² bhānu-³ śi-⁴ āparyā, śrī-sāntivarman-⁵ śrī-rāja rājiv-locanah*; ... *śat-priya-jyeṣṭha-tanayaś* *śrī-mrgēśa-narādhipaś*. Another Halei grant (*ibid.*, p. 28) of Ravivarman says, *śrīmāt-kākustha-rāja-priya-hita-tanayaś* *Sāntivarman-⁶ ānand-⁷ idah, tary-⁸ aśva ca jyeṣṭha-⁹ cānayaś* *pratikṛta-pṛthu-gaḍh śrī-mrgēśa-nar-¹⁰ cāh*. It will be seen that while Mrgedavarman is described as the eldest son of Sāntivarman, the latter is described as a favourite son only.

throne of Kṛṣṇavarman I, he was a neglected son of his father. According to the Devagiri grant, Devavarman, who was the *priya-tanaya* (favourite son) of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was made the Yuvārāja (crown-prince, *i.e.*, heir) in preference to his eldest brother Viṣṇuvarman. It may be conjectured that Viṣṇuvarman, after receiving this ill-treatment from his father, removed to the court of the Pallava king Śāntivara in despair. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman probably ruled at Palāśikā when he was killed by Ravivarman. It is possible that he received that territory with the help of the Pallavas who, as we shall see, defeated and probably killed his father Kṛṣṇavarman I. He appears, however, to have transferred his allegiance to his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman, who possibly became the king of Vaijayantī after the defeat and death of his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I.¹

Mr. G. M. Moraes says (*op. cit.*, p. 29) that during the reign of Śāntivarman, his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I, "had been ruling in the capacity of viceroy over the southern provinces of the empire. For the Birur plates of Viṣṇuvarma, while describing Śāntivarman, the grand-uncle (? father's elder brother) of Viṣṇuvarma, as 'the master of the entire Kārṇāṭa region of the earth,' clearly specify that his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman 'was sovereign of the southern region.' Now the same plates record a grant made by Viṣṇuvarma during his father Kṛṣṇavarman's life. This grant was nevertheless made 'with the permission of Śāntivarman-Dharmamahārāja.' This evidently shows that the donor as well as Kṛṣṇavarman, the father of the

¹ It may be conjectured that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a king of the Tripuravata division of the Kārṇāṭa country, while Viṣṇuvarman, hostile to his father, was a king of Palāśikā under the Kadamba house of Vaijayantī. If such was the case, the celebration of Advanmēḷa by Kṛṣṇavarman I, described as the *śakyaśāpātha-saṁamāli-śaṁ-pati*, becomes quite meaningless. Moreover, that conjecture does not explain how Kṛṣṇavarman I could be a viceroy of Śāntivarman.

donor, occupied a subordinate position under Śāntivarman." Moraes further thinks that, after the death of Śāntivarman, Kṛṣṇavarman I broke up relations with his nephew Mṛgeśavarman and became the founder of a southern branch of the Kadamba family, which ruled from Triparvata (*ibid*, pp. 30-31). None of the above statements however stands to reason.

The evidence of the Birur grant has been taken to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of the southern districts of the Kadamba empire under Śāntivarman. Three points are however to be noticed in this connection. Firstly, in the same grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *āsvamedha-yājīn* (performer of the Horse-sacrifice). I have shown (see *above*, pp. 17 f.; 124 ff.; also Appendix *below*) from the evidence of the *śāstras* and inscriptions that "a subordinate king could never perform the *Āsvamedha* sacrifice." Kṛṣṇavarman I therefore could not be a feudatory or a viceroy of Śāntivarman, but was certainly an independent king himself. Secondly, the same grant calls him *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasu-pati* (lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha) which clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan. The word *dakṣiṇāpatha* of the grant cannot be taken to mean the southern part of the Kadamba kingdom. "Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha" seems to have been the hereditary title of the great Śātavāhana kings. As we have already noticed, Śatakarpi, husband of Nāganika, is called *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi has been called *Dakṣiṇā-path-eśvara*, and the Śātavāhana, contemporary of the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman, is called *Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati Śatakarpi*. The significance of the claim of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I to have been "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" is possibly to be found in his performance of the *Āsvamedha* which cannot be celebrated without

digvijaya (*loc. cit.*). In this connection, we should also notice that in the Devagiri grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *ek-ātapaṭra* (possessor of the sole umbrella), which, as Mr. Moraes himself suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 39 note), "is indicative of the universal sovereignty." This epithet at least shows that he was an independent ruler of some importance. It is also to be noticed that he has been called Rājārāja in the Bennur grant of his great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. The third important point in this connection is that the grant recorded in the Birur plates could hardly be "made by Viṣṇuvarma during his father Kṛṣṇavarma's life," as Mr. Moraes would let us believe. The donor of the Birur grant was śrī-Viṣṇuvarma-Dharmamahārāja, eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarma-Dharmamahārāja. Since Viṣṇuvarman has been called Dharmamahārāja, he was obviously a crowned king at the time of issuing the Birur grant. Kṛṣṇavarman I could not have been reigning then as the overlord of his son, because Viṣṇuvarman is reported to have granted lands with the permission of his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman. It therefore appears that Kṛṣṇavarman I died before the end of Śāntivarman's rule and could not therefore have been the founder of a southern branch of the Kadamba family after the death of Śāntivarman. It is most likely, as has been suggested above, that he died before the beginning of Śāntivarman's rule. There is nothing in the Birur grant to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of Śāntivarman; it is, on the other hand, certain that he was a great and independent king who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Mr. Moraes thinks that the Devagiri grant was issued when Kṛṣṇavarman I "set up as an independent sovereign;" and that the Birur grant was issued some time earlier when he was still a viceroy of Śāntivarman (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). This view too is untenable. The Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34) was issued by Devavarma-Yuvarāja, dear son

of Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. It is clear that this grant was issued during the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I himself. The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) was issued, as we have seen, by the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman, who presumably ruled after his father Kṛṣṇavarman-Dharmamahārāja.

Only one record of the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I has so far been discovered. It is the grant of Yuvarāja Devavarman found at Devagiri in the Karajgi taluka of the Dharwar district. Kṛṣṇavarman I appears to have appointed the crown-prince governor of the Tripārvata division of the Kadamba kingdom, which probably comprised parts of the present district of Darwar in the Bombay Presidency. The Tripārvata division seems to have formed the northern part of the Karpāṭa country.

The Devagiri grant was issued by Yuvarāja Devavarman, dear son of Kṛṣṇavarman I Dharmamahārāja who celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice, probably when the Yuvarāja was at the city of *śrī-vijaya*-Tripārvata. By this record, a piece of land called Siddhakedāra¹ in the Tripārvata division was granted to the Yāpanīya *saṃgha* (or *saṃghas*) for the purpose of the glory of repairing anything that may be broken (*bhagna-saṃskāra*) in and of the performance of worship at the Caityālaya of the holy Arhat. It is also recorded that Devavarman granted the lands to the Arhat Jaina. The record ends with the benediction, "Victorious is the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds, the maker of the good of all people, the destroyer of passion and other enemies, the eternal one, the lord having eternal knowledge."²

¹ A recent writer thinks that Siddhakedāra (in Tripārvata) is the same as Saddikendura mentioned in the Halel grant of the fourth year of Harivarman. Since Saddikendura was the name of a *vijaya*, the identification is doubtful.

² *Jagaty - mahaṃ - trilokadeśa sarve-bhūta-hitehkarah*
Rāg-ādya-vi-karo - nanta - nanta-jāna-dya - īśvaraḥ.

In this record Kṛṣṇavarman I, father of the Yuvarāja, has been called *samar-ārjita-vipul-aīścarya* and *rāja-viśeṣa-ratna*. The epithet *ek-ātapaśra* shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed to have been a paramount sovereign. The king is also called *nāgajān-ākramya dāy-ānubhūta* which has been explained as "who enjoyed a heritage that was not to be attained by persons of Nāga descent," or as "who enjoyed his heritage after attacking some chieftains of Nāga descent." The reading of the passage is however doubtful and the interpretation cannot therefore be taken as perfectly established. The former interpretation would suggest the Nāgas to have been the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis, but the latter would possibly suggest the Sendrakas¹ of Nāgarakhaṇḍa.

There is an oval and worn out seal attached to the plates. It has the devise of some animal standing towards the proper right but with its head turned round to the left. There is also the figure of a god or a man leaning against it or sitting on it. The animal may be meant for a horse or bullock, but Fleet suggests that it may also be a deer with horns.

According to the evidence of the Bannaballi plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, Kṛṣṇavarman I married a girl of the Kekaya family which, as we have seen, probably ruled in the modern Chitaldrug district of Mysore. His eldest son Viṣṇuvarman was born of this Kekaya princess.²

¹ For the Nāga connection of the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis, see above, 155 n. In the Lakṣmīnagar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 110), the Sendrakas are described as belonging to the Rhojagendra lineage.

² Govinda Pai thinks (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361 ff.) that Devavarman was the son of Kṛṣṇavarman II. He wrongly takes Devavarman to be the eldest son of his father simply because he was the Yuvarāja. There are however numerous instances in history to show that a favourite younger son was sometimes made heir to the throne in preference to the neglected eldest son. The suggestion moreover is untenable in view of the fact that the Devagiri grant describes the father of Devavarman as the performer of the Aśvamedha which undoubtedly refers to Kṛṣṇavarman I. Kṛṣṇavarman II

A stone-inscription of a Kekaya chief, named Śivanandavarman, has been discovered at Anajī in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug district. According to this record, Śivanandavarman, after the loss of his country and the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army in the tumultuous battle that took place between Napakkāsa (?) Pallava-rāja and Kṛṣṇavarma-rāja, with a tranquillized heart, lay on a bed of *darbha* and became desirous of going to heaven. Possibly he burnt himself to death. We have seen that Kādamba Kṛṣṇavarman I was matrimonially connected with the Kekayas. This fact and the palaeographical standard of the Anajī record support the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja or Kṛṣṇavarma-rāja with Kādamba Kṛṣṇavarman I. Some scholars think that Śivanandavarman was a son of Kṛṣṇavarman I and was possibly identical with Devavarman. The suggestion, however, is untenable in view of the fact that Śivanandavarman is described as belonging to the Ātreya gotra and to the Kekaya family which was a Soma-varṇśa. The Kādamba family, on the other hand, was of the Mānavya or Āṅgirasa gotra and was never connected with the lunar race.

Śivanandavarman may have been a relative and feudatory of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The relation of the *kṣaya* (loss, ruin) of his own country with the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army and of his becoming *praśamita-hṛdaya* and desirous of going to heaven, however, is not quite clear. *Praśamita-hṛdaya* (having one's heart tranquillized) has been wrongly taken by previous writers in the sense that the defeat of Kṛṣṇavarman broke the heart of Śivanandavarman (*see infra*). Kṛṣṇavarman I possibly died in this encounter with the Pallavas or was dethroned as a result of this defeat.

never performed any Horse-sacrifice. The Śaśī grant (Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 258) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, which describes him as belonging to the Kādamba family that was *āśramadh-ābhigāta* (having taken the bath, i.e., rendered pure, by the *āśramadh* bath at the end of a Horse-sacrifice) never suggests that Kṛṣṇavarman II was installed during an *Āśramadh*.

II

VIṢṢUVARMAN I

Viṣṣuvarman was the son of king Kṛṣṇavarman I by a princess of the Kekaya family. He has been described as *kaikeya-sutāyām* = *utpanna* in the Bannahalli grant of his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. We have seen that though he was the eldest son of his father, one of his younger brothers, by name Devavarman who was the favourite son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was made Yuvarāja in preference to him. As a consequence, he appears to have left his father's kingdom and taken shelter in the court of a Pallava king, named Śāntivarā. According to the Hebbata grant of Viṣṣuvarman he was anointed by the Pallava king Śāntivarā-mahārāja. If the identification of his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, mentioned in the Birur grant, with the son of Kākusthavarman is to be believed, he seems to have transferred his allegiance to the kings of Vaijayanṭī. Before the eleventh year of Ravivarman however he appears to have rebelled against the authority of his overlords and, as a result, was killed by Ravivarman, grandson of Śāntivarman. The Palāśikā division, over which he seems to have ruled, was annexed by the victor and the victor's brother Bhānuvarman was made the governor of that division.

Only two grants of the time of Viṣṣuvarman have so far been discovered.

The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) of Viṣṣuvarman begins with a verse in adoration to the Hindu trinity—Hara, Nārāyaṇa, and Brahman.¹ The Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṣuvarman is here called the eldest son of Dharmamahā-

¹ *Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahma-trīṣṭayā-namaḥ* = *śaṅkṣā*
śānta-sukṛtāṅgaśānta-sukṛtāṅga-bhava-bhāṣita-pāyinaḥ,

rāja Kṛṣṇavarman I who has been described as "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" and as "performer of the Horse-sacrifice." As we have already suggested Kṛṣṇavarman I seems to have claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan. Such a vague claim may have originated from his performance of the Aśvamedha which could not be celebrated without *dig-vijaya*. The epithet *vikaṣita-suc-chatr-āvatamśa* applied to him in this record possibly means the same thing as his epithet *śaśi-saḍś-aik-ātapaśra* in the Devagiri grant of his favourite younger son Devavarman. He is also described as *parama-brahmaṇya-śaraṇya* and is said to have acquired fame in battles.

The grant was made on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna in the third year of the king's reign. By it the king made, with libations of water and *dakṣiṇā*, a gift of a village, called *Katattāka*, in the *Sindhutrayā-rāṣṭra*, along with the boundary of the road to Nandapada, the bridge on the river called *Karṇasaka*, the *Cesāpali* (lands?) and a field measuring two hundred *nivartas* (i. e., *nivartanas*). The recipients of the grant were eighty-five Brāhmaṇas, among whom were—Bhava, Kolana, Śiva, Yajña and Sarva of the Kurukutsa gotra; Meruśarman and Somaśarman of the Hārīta gotra; Bhava, Hara and others of the Kāśyapa gotra; Deva of the Ātreya gotra; Yuvu and Ukti of the Vāsiṣṭha gotra; Panda, Yajña, Nāga and Bhṛta of the Vātsyā gotra; Bhava and Soma of the Kauśika gotra; Bhūtīśarman of the Kaundinya gotra; Bhṛta of the Purukutsa gotra; and Bhūtīśarman of the Bhāradvāja gotra. The word *ārya* is suffixed to the names excepting those which end in the word *śarman*. This fact shows that *Ārya* (the same as modern Ayyar) and *Śarman* became cognomens in the South as early as the time of this record.

The *tāmra-śāsana* was endowed with the *parihāras*, called *attemara-viṣṭika* (sic. *antahkara-viṣṭika*) and *abhida-pradeśa* (sic. *abhaṭa-praveśa*), which have already been explained.

The most important point in the record, however, is that the grant is said to have been made after getting the permission of (*anujñāpya*) Viṣṇuvarman's *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman who was the lord of the entire Karṇāṭadeśa with its capital at Vaijayanṭi. It is generally held that this Śāntivarman is to be identified with the Kadamba king of that name, who was the son of Kākusthavarman and father of Mrgeśavarman. A recent writer on the subject however thinks that this king is to be identified with the Pallava king Śāntivara who, according to the Hebbata grant, installed Viṣṇuvarman. As we have already admitted, it is difficult, until further evidence is forthcoming, to be definite as regards the relation of the line of Kṛṣṇavarman I with the Early Kadambas of Mayūrasārman's line. We have also seen that in the present state of our knowledge it is better to take king Śāntivarman of the Birur grant to be the same as the Kadamba king who was the son of Kākusthavarman. Kṛṣṇavarman I was possibly a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Śāntivarman.

Any one who would cause disturbances to the donees is said to be committing the sins of *brāhma-strī-go-māṭr-pitr-ācārya-bhrātṛ-cadha*, *guru-dāra-gaṃana* and *vaṃś-otsādana*. The grant also quotes the usual verses referring to *pañca-mahāpātaka*, etc.

The Hebbata grant (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1925, p. 98) begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and a verse in the *anuṣṭubh* metre adoring Viṣṇu and beginning with the words *jītaṃ bhagavatā*.¹ In this record, Viṣṇuvarma-Mahārāja has been called a *parama-brahmaṇya* and an expert in all the *śāstras* and *kalās* : cf. his epithets *gāndharva-hastīśikṣā-dhanurvedeṣu vatsarāj-endr-ārjuna-samena śabd-ārtha-nyāya-ciduṣā* in the Bannahalli grant of his grandson (*infra*).

¹ *Jītaṃ bhagavatā tena vijayāṃ gaurā cakṛan.*

Śrī = svayam bhātī daret = ca nāhi pātra pātamaḥ.

He is also described as the *jyeṣṭha-priya-tanaya* of the *aśvamedha-yājīn* Kṛṣṇavarman-Mahārāja and as installed by Śāntivara-Mahārāja-Pallavendra. We have seen that Kṛṣṇavarman I made his younger son Devavarman the Yuvarāja in preference to his eldest son Viṣṇuvarman who could not therefore have been a *priya-tanaya* of his father. The mention of Viṣṇuvarman as the " dear son " of Kṛṣṇavarman I in the Hebbata grant of the fifth year of the former may therefore be taken as an erroneous exaggeration.¹

The grant was issued on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the fifth regnal year of Viṣṇuvarman when the king was residing at the *adhiṣṭhāna* (city or capital) of Kūṭatūr. We do not definitely know whether he occupied Palāśikā when he rebelled against the house of Vaijayanṭi.

By this grant the king made an *agrahāra* of the village called Herbbāṭa in the Sāṭṭipalli-Jāripāṭa (division) of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya and offered it with *dakṣiṇā* and libations of water, in accordance with the *brahmadeya-nyāya*, to a Yajurvediya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Badira family (or clan) and the Gautama gotra. The name of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya (*cf.* Māhiṣika in the Purāṇic lists) is evidently the source from which the present Mysore (= Mahiṣūr) has derived its name. The *agrahāra* was made free from *daṇḍa* (fine), *viṣṭi* (unpaid labour) and *kara* (tax).

The record ends with a reference to the five great sins, but does not quote the imprecatory verses.

¹ It may be conjectured that Viṣṇuvarman became his father's favourite son after the death of Yuvarāja Devavarman. But that does not explain the celebration of *Aśvamedha* by Kṛṣṇavarman and the installation of Viṣṇuvarman by a Pallava king.

III

KRṢṆAVARMAṆ II

The son of Viṣṇuvarman I was Simhavarman who has been described as Mahārāja of the Kadambas (or a Mahārāja belonging to the Kadamba family) in the Bannahalli plates of his son Kṛṣṇavarman II. We do not know where Simhavarman became king after the death of his father and the annexation of his paternal kingdom, i.e., the Palāsikā division, by Ravivarman. No record of his time has as yet come to light.

Simhavarman's son was Kṛṣṇavarman II who was a powerful king. We do not definitely know where he originally ruled. An inscription recording his gift of a village in the Sendraka-*viṣaya* (the Nāgarakhanḍa region forming parts of the present Shimoga district of Mysore) appears to suggest that his rule was at first limited in that part of the Kadamba kingdom. He is known to have led a successful expedition against Vaijayantī and to have conquered the Vaijayantī division ultimately. It is not certain whether he took Vaijayantī from Harivarman or from a member of another junior line of the Early Kadambas, which is known to have occupied Vaijayantī temporarily.

Three records of the time of Kṛṣṇavarman II have so far been discovered.

I. The Bennur (Belur hobli) copper-plate grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of the Kadamba Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman II begins with the Vaiṣṇavite adoration *svasti jīṇa bhagavatā* which is in consonance with the verse speaking of the glory of lord Hari at the beginning of the Bannahalli grant of the same king.

The adoration is followed by three verses which say that king Kṛṣṇavarman II was the son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Viṣṇudāsa and great-grandson of Rājārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I who, like king Yudhiṣṭhira of old, gave perpetually food to thousands of Brāhmaṇas. Kṛṣṇavarman II is said to have made the Brahṃottara (*brahṃutrā*?) again and again (*śaśvad-brahṃottaram kurvan*). In this record the Kadamba family is described as "rendered pure by the *avabhyṭha* bath of the Aśvamedha." This undoubtedly refers to the Horse-sacrifice celebrated by the reigning king's great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I.

The most important point in the Bennur record is that the grant is said to have been made by the king when he had already set out on a military expedition against Vaijayantī (*vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrām = abhiprasthita*).¹ This shows beyond doubt that at the time when the Bennur grant was issued Kṛṣṇavarman II was not the ruler of that division of the Kadamba kingdom which had its headquarters at Vaijayantī. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman, grandfather of Kṛṣṇavarman II, was killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of Ravi's reign. It is thus clear that the descendants of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I were ruling simultaneously at different parts of the Kadamba country.

The grant records the gift of the *rāja-bhāga-daśabandha* (the tenth part of the king's share or the tenth part which was the king's share²?) and also a piece of land measuring six *niṣartanas* in a village called Palmaḍi in the Sendraka-viṣaya. Mr. V. R. B. Dikshitar published a paper on the

¹ Some scholars think that Kṛṣṇavarman II led an expedition from Vaijayantī. The passage *vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrā* clearly shows that this interpretation is untenable.

² *Daśabandha* has been called the king's share in books on law; see, e.g., Manu, VIII, verse 107. Kullūka in his gloss on this verse says, *apādāntaś cābhyaṅga-dāna-dāyāpāreṣu tri-pakṣa-paryantam gādī cābhyaṅga ut vadet tadā tad-vidvād-āpādaṃ satraṃ = ṛṣam = attamarṣaṃ dadāti, tasya ce ṛṣaṃ dānam bhāgaṃ rājā dāṃśam dadāti*.

term *daśabandha* in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August, 1934, pp. 174-80. Dikshitar however could not find out any reference to the term in such an early charter as the Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II. *Daśabandha* (as also the term *pañca-bandha*) is a legal expression found in the *Arthaśāstra* (III, chs. ii, xiii, etc.) and the *Smṛtis* (e.g., Manu, VIII, verse 107; Viṣṇūśeṣvara on Yājñavalkya, II, 171) in connection with some offences punishable with fines. It refers to the tenth part of the sum forming the subject-matter of the suit. In South Indian inscriptions of the mediæval period the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue as compensation for excavating a tank, well or channel (Rangacharya, *Ins. Mad. Pres.*, II, NI. 368,797, etc.). According to H. H. Wilson (*A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, etc., London, 1755, p. 127) the Telugu word *daśabandham* means "a deduction of 10th of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank, etc." At the present time, ordinarily the enjoyers of the *daśabandham* rights are to undertake due repairs of irrigational works.

The grant was made by *śrīmad-dharma-mahārāja-vijaya-sīva*-Kṛṣṇavarman II on the first lunar day called *pratipad* in the bright fortnight of Pausa when the king was before (a *līṅga* or an idol of) Mahādeva in the great temple of the village called Inṅuṇa. It is interesting to note that, though possibly a Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇavarman II was praying to Mahādeva (Śiva) for success in his expedition against Vaijyanti. The present grant resembles in nature a grant of the Viṣṇukupḍin king Mādhavarman I who is known to have made the gift of a village when he set out on an expedition against the eastern countries (*above*, p. 131 ff.) The recipient of the grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II was a Brāhmaṇa, named Bhavaśvāmin, who belonged to the Hārīta gotra and is described as a Paṅga. He was skilled in the performance of sacrifices and was well-versed in the

Chandoga. Paiṅga-Bhavasvāmin seems to have been the priest of the said temple of Mahādeva.

The gift of a village in the Sendraka-*viṣaya* (parts of the present Shimoga district) suggests that the district formed a part of the kingdom of Kṛṣṇavarman II. We have seen that the Sendraka *rāja* Bhānuśakti was a governor under Harivarman. If this fact may be taken to suggest that the country of the Sendrakas was a part of Harivarman's kingdom, it may be supposed that Kṛṣṇavarman II took the Sendraka-*viṣaya* from, and led the *Vaijayantī* expedition against Harivarman.

The grant ends with the usual verses and the adoration *namo eṣṇave*.

II. The Bannahalli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of king Kṛṣṇavarman II begins with the *maṅgala* : *oṃ svasti* and a verse¹ in adoration to lord Hari. The grant was issued in the seventh year of the king's reign on the fifth lunar day of the waxing (i.e., bright) fortnight of Kārttika-māsa under the asterism called Jyesthā. Mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman II is called the son of Mahārāja Simhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Viṣṇuvarman and great-grandson of Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. Viṣṇuvarman is here said to have been born of a daughter of the Kekayas and to have been skilled in *gandharva* (music), *hastī-śikṣā* (science of elephant-rearing) and *ghanur-vidyā* (archery) like Vatsarāja, Indra and Arjuna. He is also called well-versed in *śabda*, *artha*² and *nyāya*. Kṛṣṇavarman I has been credited with the performance of *Aśvamedha* and with victory in many battles. The reigning king Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described as a

¹ *Jayaty=adrakṣa-daty=indra-bala-ekya-vimorlanaś*

Jayat-pravṛtti=anṣṭhāro=ṣṭṭi-māṅgā-dhara harib.

² *Śabdartha* is sometimes supposed to signify *śabda-śāstra* and *artha-śāstra*; it is however interesting to note that such a phrase is generally applied to a person having literary talent, e.g., Rudradāman and Śāka-Viṣṇuśena; cf. the very similar epithet *pada-pādārtha-śikṣā-buddha-buddhi* applied to Post Umāpatidhara in the Doopara grant of Vijayasena.

parama-brahmaṇya and as "one who acquired *rājya-śrī* by his own power, strength and valour."

The grant records the gift of a village called Kolapallūra in the Vallavi-*viṣaya*, with libations of water and with all *parihāras*, to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Viṣṇu-śarmaṇ. The grant was made at the request of Haridatta Śreṣṭhīn who belonged to the Tuviyalla gotra-pravara. The Śreṣṭhīn is described as *rāja-pūjita* (honoured by the king). He was a performer of the Gosahasra mahādāna.

The charter ends with the verses referring to the usual imprecation, the unresumable character of the grants and the five great sins. The *maṅgala* at the end of the record reads: *svasty = astu yo-brāhmaṇeḥbhyah*.

III. Another grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268) of Kṛṣṇavarman II was discovered at Sirsi (Sirsi taluka, North Kanara district). It was issued when the king was at Vijayanti, which fact shows that the *vijayanti-vijaya-yātrā* that he undertook sometime before the date of this record was completely successful.

The grant records the gift of Kamakapalli in the Girigadagrāma of the Karvannāṅgaṃ-*viṣaya* to a Somayājīn Brāhmaṇa, named Somasvāmin, who belonged to the Vārāhi gotra and was well-versed in the *Rgveda*. Karvannāṅgaṃ has been supposed to be the modern Karūr in Sirsi. The village Girigada has been identified with modern Girigadde in the same taluka.

In the Sirsi grant Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described as "obtainer of *rāja-śrī* as a result of victory in many battles" and as "belonging to the Kadamba family.....which took the sacred bath at the end of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice." It is strange that some recent writers have taken the passage *aśvamedh-ābhīśiktānām..... kadambānām śrī-kṛṣṇavarman-mahārāja* to mean that Kṛṣṇavarman II was anointed during a Horse-sacrifice. The passage undoubtedly means the same thing as *aśvamedha-snāna-pāṇitrikṛt-ātmanām*

kadambānām (Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II) and other similar expressions in the records of the successors of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The descendants of the Pallava *āśvamedhin* Kumāraviṣṇu use a similar expression, e.g., *yathāvad-āhṛt-āśvamedhānām pallavānām*. The Sirsi grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II certainly refers, as his other grants unquestionably do, to the *Āśvamedha* performed by his great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I. There is absolutely no proof to show that Kṛṣṇavarman II himself performed the Horse-sacrifice. The idea of a king's or prince's *rājy-ābhiṣeka* during the *Āśvamedha* is fantastic. If moreover he performed any horse-sacrifice, why do the Bannahalli and Bennur grants refer to the *Āśvamedha* of his great-grandfather and not of his own? In case an *Āśvamedha* was performed by Kṛṣṇavarman II before the time when the Sirsi grant was issued, he himself must have been described as *āśvamedha-yājīn* like his great-grandfather. No performer of the *Āśvamedha* is as yet known to have vaguely claimed to belong simply to an *Āśvamedha*-performing family. It must also be noted that he is not credited with the performance of *Āśvamedha* in the Tagare grant of his grandson. That the passage *āśvamedh-ābhiṣikta* (applied to the Kadamba family) does not mean Kṛṣṇavarman's being "installed during *Āśvamedha*" is proved beyond doubt by the Gaṅga records which refer to the Kadamba family as *avicchinn-āśvamedh-ārabhṛth-ābhiṣikta* (*ābhiṣikta* by the *arabhṛtha* bath of a series of *Āśvamedhas*).

It is interesting to note that in many of the early Gaṅga records, Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja, son of Mādhyava-Mahādhirāja, has been called *kṛṣṇavarma-mahādhirājasya priya-bhāginēya* (dear sister's son of Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhirāja). This Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhirāja has been described as *śrī-mat-kadamba-kala-gagana-gabhastī-mālin* (sun in the firmament of the illustrious Kadamba family). There is however difference of opinion as regards the identification

of this Kadamba king, named Kṛṣṇavarman, mentioned in the Gaṅga records. Mr. K. N. Dikshii and some other scholars (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 166, n. 2; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 197) think that he is to be identified with the *āśvamedha-yājīn* Kṛṣṇavarman I, while others are of opinion that he should be identified with the *āśvamedhin's* great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. It is believed that "there are no clues in the records to enable one to ascertain who this Kṛṣṇavarman was, whether he was the first king of that name or his great-grandson" (*Kadambakula*, p. 55). The Gaṅga records however clearly show that Kṛṣṇavarman-Mahādhiraḥa, maternal uncle of the Gaṅga king Avinita-Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraḥa, was not Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I who was a performer of *Āśvamedha*, but his great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II who never celebrated any Horse-sacrifice. The Kadamba relative of the Gaṅgas is sometimes described in the Gaṅga records (see, e.g., the Merkera, Nagamangala, Javali and Kadagattur plates, *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 312; II, p. 155; *Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 151; etc.) as *śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gaṅga-gabhasi-mālin*. In some Gaṅga records (see, e.g., Mallohalli and Bangalore Museum plates, *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 133; *Ep. Carn.*, IX, p. 33; etc.), however, he is also described more fully as *avicchinn* (or *avical*)-*āśvamedh-avabhīṭh-ābhīṣikta-śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gaṅga-gabhasi-mālin* (sun in the firmament of the illustrious Kadamba family which was wet owing to its taking the sacred bath in continuous Horse-sacrifices). The king has not been called a performer of *Āśvamedha*, but is said to have belonged to the Kadamba family in which *Āśvamedha* was celebrated. Since he is not described as an *āśvamedha-yājīn*, he cannot be the same as Kṛṣṇavarman I who has that epithet in the Devagiri, Birur and Bannahalli grants of his descendants. The fact that the epithet of the relative of the Gaṅgas saying that he belonged to the Kadamba family which was *āśvamedh-*

ābhīṣikta is essentially the same as that of Kṛṣṇavarman II in the Sirsi grant (cf. *āśvamedh-ābhīṣiktānām..... kadambānām śrī kṛṣṇavarma-mahārāja*) and in the Bennur grant (cf. *āśvamedh-āvacabhytha-snāna-paritrikṣṭānām kadambānām..... dharmā-mahārāja-cijaya-śīva-kṛṣṇavarmā*) shows beyond doubt that he should be identified with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II and not with the latter's great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I. It must also be noticed that Kṛṣṇavarman I was the only performer of the Horse-sacrifice among the early Kadambas and that no Kadamba king is known to have celebrated the sacrifice before his time.¹ Only a successor of this king therefore can properly be called "belonging to the Kadamba family in which the Aśvamedha was performed." It may further be noticed that many of the grants of the successors of Śāntivarman refers to the Kadamba family as *scāmi-mahāsena-mātr-gaṇ-anudhyāt-ābhīṣikta*. We do not know whether there is a covert allusion to the *avabhytha* of an Aśvamedha in this passage. The corresponding passage in the Sirsi grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II, which simply adds the word *āśvamedha* between the words *anudhyāta* and *ābhīṣikta*, is practically the same.

The identification of the maternal uncle of Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhirāja with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II seems to be supported also by the chronology of the Early Gaṅgas. Gaṅga Durvinita, Koṅgaṇivṛddha son of Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi, probably lived up to the middle of the seventh century. There is a record (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 135) which speaks of a matrimonial relation between the Gaṅgas and the Calukyas

¹ A very late inscription found at Talagunda (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 178) says that Mayūravarma (i.e., Mayūrsārma) performed no less than eighteen Aśvamedhas. We have already seen that this late tradition is to be discarded as entirely unhistorical (above, p. 310; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40, note; *An. Riband. Gr. Res. Inst.*, XVI, p. 163, note). The plurality of Aśvamedhas claimed for the Kadambas in the passages of the Gaṅga records is evidently an unhistorical exaggeration. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the "one" Aśvamedha performed by Samudragupta is referred to as "many" Aśvamedhas in the records of his Vākāṭaka relatives.

of Bādāmi. "Seizing in the field of battle Kāḍuvetti who was celebrated as a Rāvapa to the earth," it says, "and setting up his (own) daughter's son, he became formidable in the world in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimha-vallabha; what a terror was this might of arm of Durvinīta!" Kāḍuvetti is the Dravidian expression for Pallava¹ and Vallabha was the title of the Calukya kings of Bādāmi. Jayasimha-vallabha is therefore the same as the grandfather of Pulakeśin I (circa 550-66) and the first historical figure with which the Calukyas begin their genealogy. Calukya Jayasimha has been called Vallabhendra and Vallabha in the Mahakuta and Aihole inscriptions respectively (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 342). It has been suggested (*Tripenī*, I, pp. 112-20; *Kadambakula*, pp. 55-56) that the Gaṅga king Durvinīta was the father-in-law of Pulakeśin II who was defeated and killed by Pallava Narasimhavarman I about A.D. 642 and that it was the Gaṅga king who restored his grandson Vikramāditya I, third son of Pulakeśin II, to the throne about 654. The suggestion seems probable.

If however the above suggestion be accepted, Gaṅga Durvinīta who possibly had a very long reign appears to have lived as late as A.D. 654.² As Durvinīta's reign is thus known to have ended in the second half of the seventh century, it is reasonable to suppose that his father Avinīta-Kongani could not have ruled

¹ In the same inscription, there is reference to a Kāḍuvetti of the warlike Kāḍai and his Pallava-umbrella.

² Dubreuil places Durvinīta in 608-50 A.D. (*Ann. Hist. Dec.*, p. 106). Durvinīta's last known inscriptional date is year 10. *Periccheda* I of the *Arantamundarikotha* area seems to speak of the Pallava king Siphavijaya of Kāḍai, *Narendra* Vignavaradhana of the Nāḍi region and Durvinīta (possibly the Gaṅga king, son of Avinīta) as contemporaries. Pallava Siphavijaya appears to be the same as Narasimhavarman I Siphavijaya son of Mahendravarmān II who ruled about the second quarter of the seventh century. *Narendra* Vignavaradhana may be the same as Kaba-Vignavaradhana, brother of Pulakeśin II (604-12 A.D.), who might have been a governor of the Nāḍi region for some time before he was established at Vijayapura.

earlier than the second half of the sixth century. Kṛṣṇavarman, the maternal uncle of Avinīta-Koṅgaṇi (second half of the sixth century), thus appears to have lived about the middle of the sixth century and certainly not much earlier. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman who saw the latest years of Śāntivarman and the early years of Ravivarman was killed before Ravi's eleventh year about the ninth or tenth decade of the fifth century. Since Śāntivarman ruled before A.D. 470 which is possibly the date of his son Mrgeśa's accession, Kṛṣṇavarman I must be placed about the middle of the fifth century. As Viṣṇuvarman seems to have ended his rule about the end of that century, his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II must reasonably be placed about the middle of the next century.

IV

BHOGIVARMAN

The son of Kṛṣṇavarman II was Ajavarman. No record of Ajavarman's time has as yet been discovered. We do not know whether he ascended the throne at all. The Tagare plates of his son Bhogivarman (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1918, p. 35) do not call him Mahārāja. Mahārāja Bhogivarman's rule appears to have fallen in the second half of the sixth century. It was the time of Calukya ascendancy in Mahārāṣṭra and Kuntala. The relation of Bhogivarman with the powerful Early Calukyas of Bādāmi cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming. Possibly the political existence of the dynasty of Kṛṣṇavarman I ended with Bhogivarman. His son Viṣṇuvarman II (who is not mentioned as a Yuvarāja in the Tagare record) does not appear to have ascended the throne.

The Tagare grant of Mahārāja Bhogivarman begins with the word *śaṣṭi* and a verse ¹ in adoration to lord Viṣṇu. In this record the Kadamba family is mentioned as rendered pure by the *avabhytha* bath taken at the end of the Aśvamedha which evidently refers to the sacrifice performed by the donor's ancestor Kṛṣṇavarman I. Bhogivarman-[Ma]hārāja, dear son of Ajavarman and grandson of Kṛṣṇavarman-[Ma]hārāja II (not the performer of Aśvamedha), is said to have acquired a large kingdom by the power of his own arms. He is also said to have defeated many enemies. The claim may be an exaggerated one; but it proves at least that Bhogivarman had to fight with enemies.

¹ *śaṣṭy-ambuja-gehōgāh pati-śiṣṇu-śaṣṭi-mah* (?)
Varāha-rupēṇa śharāṇi yu-śaṣṭhāra yuga-kṛpāḥ.

The grant was made at the request of the king's son, named Viṣṇuvarman. It is not dated. It records the gift of a *pallī* called Kīrū-Kūḍalūr to a pious Brāhmaṇa, named Bhūtaśarman, who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. Kīrū-Kūḍalūr-pallī, which reminds us the name of the Kūḍalūr-aḥiṣṭhāna whence the Hebbata grant of Viṣṇuvarman was issued, is said to have been one of the twenty-four pallīs of the *mahā-grāma* called Tagare situated in the Tagare viṣaya. Tagare has been found to be a place in the Belur taluka.

It is said that the protector of the grant would enjoy the *phala* of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, but the confiscator would be loaded with the five great sins. The record quotes two verses (*bahubhir = vasudhā dattā*, etc., and *svam dātum samahac = chakyaṃ*, etc.) as spoken by Manu.

The grant ends with a few lines written in the Kannaḍa language, which say that the pallī was granted with the exemption from the thirty-two imports, and seems to mention the additional grant of a house in the northern street. "The second and the fourth lines on the third plate appear to be a subsequent addition by a later hand. They tell us that Poriyaḍgaḷ granted Kīrtivūr to Viṣṇar, as also an equal share below the tank of Kīrū-Kūḍalūr" (*ibid*, pp. 40-41).

CHAPTER III

EARLY KADAMBAS : MISCELLANEOUS LINES

I

KUMĀRAVARMAṆ AND MĀNDHĀTA

Another line of the Early Kadambas, the exact relation of which with the lines of Mayūraśarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I is not definitely settled, is known from inscriptions to have ruled in the Kadamba country and for sometime even at Vaijyantī. Only two inscriptions of this line have so far been discovered. They belong to a Kadamba king, named Māndhātā-rāja (evidently a mistake for Māndhātārāja), or Māndhātārvarman.¹ In the Kudgere plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12) the king is called *śrī-vijaya-śiva-Māndhātārvarman* and is said to have resided at Vaijyantī. In the Shimoga plates (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 32) of the same king however the issuer's name is given as Māndhātā-rāja and he is called the son of Mahārāja Kumārarvarman. The explicit

¹ Māndhātārvarman of the Kudgere grant has been thought to be different from Māndhātā-rāja of the Shimoga grant and the reign of the former has been placed before that of Kṛṣṇavarman I on the grounds that the names of the donors are not exactly the same, that the Kudgere grant begins with the word *siddhant* like the Malavalli and Talagunda records and that it does not mention the Kadamba family as being rendered pure by the *Aśvamedha* (of Kṛṣṇavarman I). See *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 35; *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 245. It must be noticed that the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman begins with *siddhant*. Both the Halebidu grants of Hariivarman begin with the expression *siddhant*. Are we to suppose that these princes lived before Kṛṣṇavarman I? Again, the performance of the *Aśvamedha* by Kṛṣṇavarman I is not mentioned in any of the three grants of Hariivarman. Does it prove that Hariivarman lived before the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I? Māndhātā-rāja is most probably a copyist's mistake for Māndhātārāja. Cf. Kṛṣṇavarman rāja and Kṛṣṇarāja in the Anaji record of Śivanaśarovarman; Kirtivarman and Kirtirāja of the Calukya records; Vijayavarman and Vijayarāja of the Kaira grant, etc. For palaeography, see above, p. 57, n. 2.

statement that the king belonged to the Kadamba family which was sanctified by the Horse-sacrifice (*cf. āśvamedha-pavitrikṛt-āntayānām...kadambānām*) clearly shows that the Kadamba king, named Māndhātā or Māndhātṛvarman, ruled after the celebration of the Āśvamedha by Kṛṣṇavarman I who was the only performer of the Horse-sacrifice among the Early Kadambas. We do not know where Mahārāja Kumāra-varman ruled. His son Māndhātṛvarman however is known to have reigned at Vaijayantī from where he issued the Kudgere grant in the second year of his reign. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to place Māndhātṛvarman's reign in the period between the time of Śāntivarman and that of Harivarman. It is possible that Māndhātā became the lord of Vaijayantī for some time in the period when the Kadamba country was in a state of chaos owing to the repeated attacks of the Early Calukyas of Bādāmi. He may have conquered Vaijayantī from Harivarman or from Kṛṣṇavarman II or one of the latter's successors.

A set of copper-plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 12) belonging to the Kadamba king, named Māndhātṛvarman, was discovered at Kudgere in the Shimoga district. The grant was issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the second regnal year of the king who has been called *śrī-vijaya-śiva-Māndhātṛvarman*. The king issued the charter when he was residing at Vaijayantī.

The grant records the gift of a *keḍāra* (field, land), twenty *niśartanas* by the royal measure, of the *hala* (plough-land) called Modekaraṇī within the border of Kolāla-grāma which has been identified with modern Kolala in the Tiplur taluka of the Tumkur district of Mysore. It was made with *dakṣiṇā* and with libations of water, and was exempted from the duty of providing cots, abode and boiled rice (*a-khaṭvā-cās-audana*), from the ingress of soldiers, and from internal taxes and unpaid labour (*antaḥkara-viṣṭika*). The *parihāra*

called *a-khatrā-rās-udana* has been discussed in connection with the Mayīdavolu and Hirahadagalli grants (above, p. 187 f.). It is practically the same as *a-kūra-collaka-cināsi-khatā-[saṃ]rāsa* mentioned in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. In this connection, it is interesting to note that according to Manu (VII, verse 119) "the headman of the village should get all of what is daily payable by the villagers to the king in the shape of *anna* (food), *pāna* (drink), *indhana* (fuel) and other things." In connection with *antaḥ-kara* (internal revenue), a reference to *puṣarāyam* (external revenue) in an inscription (*S. Ind. Ins.*, III, No. 61) is interesting to note.

The recipient of the grant was a *taittirīya-sabrahmacārin*, named Devaśarman, who belonged to the Kaundinya gotra. The record ends with the usual verses and says that the *paṭṭikā* was written by the *Rahasyādhikṛta* Dāmodaradatta. The official designation *rahasyādhikṛta* is found in other early inscriptions like the Hirahadagalli grant of Śivaskandavarman and the Peddavegi grant of Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman II.

The Shimoga plates were issued on the twelfth lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika in the fifth regnal year of Mādhātā-rāja when the king was residing at *vijay-Occhrūgī*, that is to say, at the city of Uccaśrūgī. Uccaśrūgī has been identified with Uchchangidurga situated about three miles to the east of Molkalmuru in the Dodderi taluka of the Chitaldrug district, Mysore (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1910-11, p. 31; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 285 n). We have seen that in the fourth year of king Harivarman's reign, his *pitṛeya* (father's, i.e., Ravivarman's, brother) Sivāratha was probably in charge of the Uccaśrūgī division of the Kadamba country. It is however not known whether the Vaijayantī and Uccaśrūgī divisions were both taken by Mādhātā directly from Harivarman. Uccangi was the capital of the Nolambavāḍī 32,000 province (Bellary district

and parts of Mysore) under the Pāṇdyas and probably under the Pallavas before them. The Pallavas acquired the province when they conquered Bādāmi and temporarily overthrew the Calukyas. It was occupied by the Pāṇdyas about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. According to a Harihar record of 1170-71, Kādamba Mahāmapāleśvara Ketarasa had the hereditary title "lord of Ucaṅgi-giri" (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 564).

The Shimoga grant (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 32) begins with the adoration: *svasti: jītaṃ bhagavatā*. The record speaks of the Kadamba family as rendered pure by the sacred bath of the Horse-sacrifice which obviously refers to the Aśvamedha celebrated by Kṛṣṇavarman I. Māndhātārāja, son of Kumāravarman-Mahārāja, has been described as a successful warrior.

By this grant the Kadamba king made a gift of six *nivartanas* of land along with some materials for building a house (*gr̥ha-vastu*)¹ in the village of Kaggi as well as some lands in the village, called Pālgalinī, to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Triyamabakasvāmin, of the Ātreya gotra. The passage *pālgalinī-grāmasy = āñcañ = catuṣpat-kṣetram* is not quite clear. Kaggi-grāma has been identified with the village of the same name, situated about ten miles to the south of Channagiri in the taluka of the same name (*ibid.*, p. 35).

The grant ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the benediction: *siddhīr = astu*.

¹ The passage *gr̥ha-vastuṃ sārddham* has been explained as "together with a house and necessaries" (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, p. 35).

II

MADHUVARMAN AND DĀMODARA

Two other names of kings belonging to the Early Kadamba family are known from inscriptions. They are Madhuvarman of the record found at Tadagani in the Udagani hobli of the Shikarपुर taluka (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 66) and Dāmodara of the lithic record discovered at Konnur in the Belgaum district (*Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 96). Their exact relation with the three lines of Early Kadamba kings already discussed cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

The Tadagani inscription which according to Rice belongs to *circa* 500 A.D. was issued by a Kadamba prince whose name has been written as *madhuvarmmā*. *Madhuvarmmā* is generally taken to be a mistake for *Madhuvarma*. Mr. Govind Pai points out (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, pp. 25-26) that the name Maduvarman or Madhuvarman bears no good sense. He is therefore inclined to change the reading *śrī-madhuvarmmā* as *śrī-maddevarma* which he further corrects as *śrī-mad-devavarmmā*. The word *saṃgha* written in the Devagiri grant as *saṅga*, and names like Madurā for Madhurā, Attivarman for Hastivarman, etc., suggest that the correction *Madhuvarman* is not impossible. It may also be pointed out that many names in the early history of India do not bear any good sense. The names Dattavarman and Jalavarman of the Lakhamandal inscription (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1790) and Jātavarman of the Belava grant (*ibid*, No. 1714) may be cited as examples. Since the Sanskrit word *madhu* means "water," the names *Madhuvarman* and *Jalavarman* would mean the same thing.

As has been suggested to me by Dr. Barnett, Madhuvarman may moreover be an abbreviated form of names like Madhuripavarman. The correction *Devavarman* may not be quite absurd, but it cannot be accepted without further evidence. Palaeography moreover seems to go against the suggestion of Govind Pai that this king ruled before Kṛṣṇavarman I. He thinks that Madhuvarman, whom he calls Devavarman, was the father of Kṛṣṇavarman I simply on the ground that the Tadaganī record does not refer to the Aśvamedha of Kṛṣṇavarman I. We have seen that, excepting the Nilambur grant of Ravivarman, none of the records of Mṛgeśavarman, Ravivarman and Harivarman refers to the Aśvamedha of the usurper.

As the Tadaganī epigraph is damaged, the inscription could not be fully deciphered. It seems to record the gift of some lands in the villages called Satomahila-grāma and Ketakapāda to a Brāhmaṇa, named Nārāyaṇaśarmaṇ, who belonged to the Gautama gotra. The record ends with the usual verses. At the top of the stone there is an unfinished final verse along with the name of one Soma who seems to have belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. The connection of this person with the grant of Madhuvarman is not known. It is also unknown to us whether Madhuvarman was a *Rāja*, *Mahārāja* or *Yuvarāja* of the Kadambas. The letters between the passages *kadambānām* and *śrī-madhuvarmanā* could not be deciphered. His position among the Early Kadamba princes is therefore bound to remain uncertain until further evidence is forthcoming.

The name of *urpa* Dāmodara, born in the family of the Kadambas, is found in a verse inscribed on a rock near Konnur, at the falls of the Ghaṭaprabhā in the Belgaum district. The inscription is in the so-called box-headed characters and is probably not later than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. It has been noticed however that above the verse the name *śrī-Dāmodara* is twice inscribed

on the same rock, once in the usual box-headed characters and once in the characters used in the records of the Early Calukyas. Does this fact suggest that Dāmodara lived in the period when the northern part of the ancient Kadamba kingdom was already occupied by the Calukyas? Is it possible that Dāmodara was a feudatory or viceroy of a king of the Early Calukya family which was established about the middle of the sixth century at Bādāmi in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency? It is however impossible to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. Govind Pai presumes (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 32) that Dāmodara was the son of Harivarman. The suggestion is absolutely without any ground.

CHAPTER IV

THE KEKAYAS

I

ŚIVANANDAVARMA¹

According to the *Purāṇas* (*Matsya*, 48, 10-20 ; *Vāyu*, 99, 12-23), the Kekayas, Madras and Uśīnaras were branches of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the *R̥gveda* (I, 108, 8 ; VII, 10, 5). A hymn of the *R̥gveda* (VIII, 74) seems to suggest that the Anus lived in the central Punjab, not far from the river Paruṣpī. It is interesting to note that the same territory is afterwards found to be in the possession of the Kekayas and the Madras (see Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 36-37 ; Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, II, p. 49 f.).

The Kekaya tribe is known from early literature to have dwelt in the modern Punjab between the country of Gandhāra which lay on both sides of the Indus, and the river Vipāśā (Beas). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 68, 19-22 ; VII, 113-14), the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and was adjacent to the Gandharva (i.e., Gandhāra) viśaya. The name of the capital of the Kekaya country is not mentioned in the Vedic texts ; the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 67, 7 ; 68, 22) however tells us that the capital of the Kekayas was at Rājagrha or Girivraja. This Rājagrha-Girivraja has been identified with modern Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum. Another Rājagrha-Girivraja is known to have been the ancient capital of Magadha. This city has been identified with Rājgir situated in Bihar between Pāṭnā and Gayā. In order to distinguish between the eastern and

¹ My paper on the Southern Kekayas was published in *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 216 ff.

western Rājagṛha-Girivraja, the eastern city was sometimes called "Rājagṛha of the Magadhas" (*S.B.E.*, XIII, p. 150). A third Rājagṛha is mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 44) as a city of Po-lo, i.e., Balkh. Jain writers mention a Kekaya city called Setaviya and say that one-half of the Kekaya kingdom was Aryan (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 375). See Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (V, II, 5) tells a story about Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, who realised the supreme truth and is reported to have once said, "In my *janapada*, there is no thief, no villain, no drunkard, no Brāhmaṇa who does not maintain and consecrate sacred fire in his house, no illiterate person, no adulterer and therefore no adultress." According to the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* (X, 6, 1,2) and *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (*loc. cit.*, *et seq.*), Aśvapati, a contemporary of king Janaka of Videha, instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Daśaratha, the Ikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā, married a Kekaya princess by whom he got a son, named Bharata. It may not be quite impossible that Aśvapati was the name of a family of Kekaya kings and not the name of any particular ruler of Kekaya. A similar instance seems to be found in the name of the ancient Brahmadattas of Kāśī. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family and not that of a particular king has already been proved (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56 ; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46). It is interesting to note that a traditional king (father of the celebrated Sāvitrī) of the Madras who dwelt near the Kekaya country, on the western bank of the river Irāvati (*Mahābhā.*, VIII, 44, 17), was also named Aśvapati. We do not know whether he actually belonged to the family of the Kekaya kings.

Inscriptions prove the existence of a ruling dynasty called Kekaya or Kaikeya in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. It has been supposed that the Kekayas migrated

to the south like the Ikṣvākus, Śibis and other north Indian tribes or families. The southern Kekayas are known to have belonged to the Ātreya gotra and the Soma-varṇśa (lunar race). We have seen that, according to the *Purāṇas*, the Kekayas belonged to the family of Anu, son of the celebrated Yayāti. According to the *Mahābhārata* (I, 95, 7), Yayāti was a king of the lunar race. Yayāti, son of Nabaṣa, is mentioned in early texts like the *R̥gveda* (I, 31, 17; X, 63, 1). The Kekayas who belonged to the family of Yayāti-Nabaṣya's son, therefore, could rightly claim to have belonged to the Soma-varṇśa. According to the *Purāṇas* (e.g., *Vāyu*, 26, 18-20), Soma (i.e., moon) was born of Anasūyā by Atri, one of the principal gotrakārinus. The *pravaras* of the Ātreya gotra are Atri, Ātreya and Śātātapa. The Kekayas who claimed to have belonged to the family of Anu should properly belong either to the Atri or to the Ātreya gotra.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇic* tradition, the Kekayas of Girivraja were matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā. It is interesting to note that the family of the southern Kekayas has also been described as *ikṣvākubhir* = *api rājaraṣibhiḥ kṛt-āvāha-vivāha*.¹ This fact goes to show that the princes and princesses of the southern Kekaya family were married in the house of the Ikṣvākus. This Ikṣvāku family however seems to be the same as that to which the great kings Cāṃtamūla I, his son Virapurisadata and grandson Ehuva Cāṃtamūla II belonged. These kings ruled in the Kistna-Guntur region of the Madras Presidency in the second, third and fourth quarters of the third century and are known to have had matrimonial relations with the kings of Ujjayinī and of Banavāsī. The reference to the Ikṣvāku *rājaraṣis* in a Kekaya record of about the middle of the fifth

¹ *Āvāha* means son's marriage, while *vivāha* means the marriage of a daughter. These two terms occur in Rock Edict IX of Aśoka. See *Dighanikāya*, I, 90; *Jātaka*, I, 482, 2; IV, 316, 8; VI, 71, 32; also Cowell's translation of *Jātaka*, V, p. 145, note L.

century seems to suggest that the dynasty did not come to an end with the conquest of Andhrāpatha by the Pallavas of Kāñcī about the end of the third century. For the Ikṣvākus, see *above*, p. 9 ff.

Besides the Kekaya record discovered at Anaji in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug district, there are other inscriptions which prove the existence of the Kekayas in the Mysore region about the middle of the fifth century and possibly also in the eighth. In the Bannaballi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II, the king's grandfather Viṣṇuvarman, eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, has been described as *kaikeya-sutāyām=utpanna*. As we have seen, Kṛṣṇavarman I who married in the family of the Kekayas possibly ruled about the middle of the fifth century. In another Kadamba record (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1911, pp. 33, 35), Queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Mrgeśavarman-Dharmamahārāja and mother of Ravivarman-Dharmamahārāja, has been described as *kaikeya-mahākula-prasūtā*. We have seen that Kadamba Mrgeśavarman possibly began to rule in A. D. 470. The Kekayas are known to have had matrimonial relations not only with the Ikṣvākus and the Kadambas, but also with the Pallavas. A Pallava chief designated Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Prthivīvallabha-Pallavarāja-Gopāladeva who was the son of Candamahāsena and the lord of Payvegundūpura has been described as *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhava-oddhata-puruṣa* in the Haldipur plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 173 ff.) which have been palaeographically assigned to the eighth century A. D. The passage *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhava* has been taken to indicate that Pallava Gopāladeva was connected with the Kekaya or Kaikeya family probably on his mother's side.

The Anaji stone inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, XI, p. 142) belongs to a Kekaya chief, named Sivanandavarman, who is described as belonging to the Kekaya family, Soma race and Ātreya gotra. He was a *parama-māheśvara* and was devoted to his parents, and his family was connected

matrimonially with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The record refers to the loss of Śivanandavarman's own country and to a tumultuous battle fought between Nanakāśa (?) Pallavarāja and Kṛṣṇavarmanrāja, and says that after the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army, the Kekaya chief, with a sense of relief in his heart, made up his mind, lay on a bed of *darbha* grass and being unwilling to enjoy worldly pleasures became desirous of going to heaven.¹ Śivanandavarman is then said to have approached that position which is desired by all valiant men, and thereby spread the prosperity of his own family to last as long as the moon and the stars endure.² Even after going near that position, he performed some meritorious deeds with the idea that a man dwells in heaven so long as his glory is remembered on the earth.³ The stone appears to have been engraved after the death of Śivanandavarman.

The inscription has been differently interpreted. Some scholars think (see Sewell, *List*, p. 352) that Sivanandavarman was a son of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I and that he turned an ascetic. The first part of the theory is impossible in view of the fact that Sivanandavarman has been described as belonging not to the Kadamba family of the Mānavya or Āṅgīrasa gotra, but to the Kekaya family which belonged to the Soma vāmśa and the Ātreya gotra. The second part of the theory is also rendered

3. *Siwandawarimā aca-dadaṣya kṣaya nṛpaśāsita* (?) pollucarāja-āṅgarararimarā-jagoh samara tamulini (?) proerite kṣṇarāja-saṅga bhayna praiomito-āḍaya cakkaḷpito-sakkaḷpaḥ kṛta durbha-ḍayanaḥ paritrāṇa abhgarahāṣṛayamāṇaḥ vira-kāl-āraśāpāṇiṇa kṛttṛṇa ubhilaṭaṇ iruṭi-eruti-eruta-śila-gaṇi-gaṇanaḥ (?) manuṣya-bhoga-virukta-manda-saṅga-āṇḍṇṇi-ṛti-ekpaṇaḥ indraloka-sakhaṇa aśmāyato. In place of the passage *kṣaya nṛpaśāsita*, Govind Pai is inclined to read *Epagena nṛpaśāsita*. If this suggestion is accepted, the name of the Pallava antagonist of Kṛṣṇaśarma I is not yet known.

² *lāṅgādā-lāṅkām ātmāno capalāgo puruṣo-śūro nātanev virga-lauṅga-*
vīramo pratāpar=cañah laurya-karmo-paraspara ilāghā-vilecāyo-vilecāh āre-
candān abhiṁmatam abhiṁgatah.

3 Abhigamy=api ara-campā-athāpaka-jana-puṇṇa-kammaṇṇe yakkho Tārad=pālo-
loka nicarati tārantaṃ kāmā paruggāhā dīci nicarati pramukhita-hṛdaya āsi.

untenable by the fact that he is said to have attained the position which is desired by all valiant warriors, to have prepared a bed of *darbha* and to have become desirous of going to heaven. It seems to me that Śivanandavarman became seriously wounded in the battle fought between the Pallava king and king Kṛṣṇavarman and, apprehending death, lay on a bed of *darbha*. It may be noticed that the words *avahāra* and *avaharṇa* (cf. the verb in *abhyavahārayamāna*) signify "cessation of fight" or "removing from the battle-field to the camp." The desire of Śivanandavarman to go to heaven and to attain eternal fame may suggest that he burnt himself to death.

It has been suggested by previous writers that Śivanandavarman's heart was broken at the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army. The passage *praśamita-hṛdaya* however seems to suggest that the Kekaya chief's mind was relieved of anxiety at the disastrous defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja who has been identified with the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I. This fact appears to prove that, in the battle referred to, Śivanandavarman fought against Kṛṣṇavarman I. We have seen that though Viṣṇuvarman I, born of the Kekaya princess, was the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, his claim to the throne was laid aside and one of his younger brothers, named Devavarman, who was the favourite son of his father, was made Yuvarāja, i.e., heir to the throne. The fact that Viṣṇuvarman was installed by a Pallava king possibly suggests that he left his father's court and removed to the court of a Pallava king. It is interesting to note that the battle referred to in the Anaji record was fought between Kṛṣṇavarman I and the Pallavas. It is possible that Śivananda, the Kekaya relative (maternal grandfather or uncle ?) of Viṣṇuvarman, fought in the battle for the Pallava allies of Viṣṇuvarman and against Kṛṣṇavarman I. Otherwise Śivananda being *praśamita-hṛdaya* at the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army seems to become meaningless.

APPENDIX

I

YAVANA AND PARASIKA ¹

In an interesting paper on the question of Zoroastrian influence on early Buddhism in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), Dr. E. J. Thomas has offered some suggestions regarding the interpretation of the term *Yavana* in Indian inscriptions and literature. It is generally believed that *Yavana* originally signified the Greeks, but later it was used to mean all foreigners. Dr. Thomas however thinks it to be "an unnecessary assumption that the term must have first meant 'Greek' to the Indians" (p. 282) and takes it to be unlikely "that Indians could have distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians as specially Greek." "It is more probable," he says, "that they learnt the name from the *Yavana* forces with whom they came in contact, and that they applied the name to all foreigners whose military power was represented by these *Yavanas*, that is, to the Persians generally" (pp. 282-83). As a sequel to these views of his, Dr. Thomas has been constrained to think that *Antiyoka* (=Antiochus II Theos of Syria) has been called *Yona-rāja* (i.e., *Yavana* king) in the second and thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka, because he was "the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire" (p. 282). Dr. Thomas thus seems to think that the word *Yavana*, from the earliest times, meant "foreigner," and not "Greek" specially, and that the Indians never distinguished the

¹ This paper was originally published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIV, pp. 34-35.

Yavanas from the Persians. There is however evidence to show that neither of these two suggestions is justifiable.¹

As regards the first point, we must note that the Persian or any other foreign tribe is *never* known to have been called *Yavana* in the early literature and records of India.² It is, on the other hand, definitely known from a number of instances that the term *Yavana* denoted the Greeks. Amtiyoka's being called *Yona-rāja* may be explained away, as he was "the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire." But that *Yavana* meant "Greek" is perfectly established by the evidence furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*, *Milindapañho* and the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus.

Some *gāthās* of the *Mahāvamsa* (XXIX, verse 30 ff.) give a list of countries and cities among which we get Yonaganara-Alasanda (i.e., Alexandria, the city of the Yavanas). Alasanda has been identified with Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul (*op. cit.*, Geiger's ed., p. 194). Alasanda=Alexandria can hardly be a Persian town. According to the *Milindapañho*, Milinda who has been identified with the celebrated Indo-Greek king Menander was born at Kalasigāma in the *dipa* ³ of Alasanda.

¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds (*Ind. Cult.* I, pp. 16-17, 810 ff.) that "in early times Yavanas always denoted the Greeks, but from the second century A.D. onwards, it seems to have been used to denote the Persians." As we shall see, this theory is equally untenable. For the evidence of the *Bhāgavata* and the Junagadh inscription, see below. The reference to the Yavanas in the seventh century work *Harja-carita* in connection with Kakavarja, son of Śīlānaga, proves nothing.

² It may be argued that since Tostage, who was Alaka's governor in Surāṣṭra, had a Persian name, but has been called *Yavana-rāja* in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradhīman (circa A.D. 139-50), the word *Yavana* in this case means a Persian. Names however can hardly be taken as proof of nationality. *Vasudeva*, the name assumed by a great Kūṣāṇa king about the end of the second century A.D., is an Indian name, but the Kūṣāṇa king's family was not certainly indigenous to India. Many early Indian inscriptions, moreover, mention Yavanas bearing Hindu names, e.g., *Yavana Compa* (=Candra) in *Lidder's List*, No. 1136.

³ Alasanda thus seems not to have been merely a city. *Dipa* (*cf.* *Diṅḍi*) appears to mean a district between two rivers.

This Milinda = Menander is said to have had his capital at Sāgala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab (I, 9: *jambudīpe sāgalanagare mīlinda nāma rājā ahoṣi*). Again in another passage, this Sāgalanagara is said to have belonged to the Yavanas (I, 2: *atthi Yonakānāṃ nānāputābhedanāṃ sāgalan = nāma nagaram*). Next we should note that the Besnagar pillar inscription mentions a *Yona-dāta* (i.e., Yavana envoy), named Heliodora (= Heliodorus), son of Diya (= Dion), who was an inhabitant of Takhasilā (= Takṣaśilā, modern Taxila) and was sent by Mahārāja Antialikita (= Antialkidas) to the court of the Śuṅga king Kautsīputra (probably *Kosīputa*, not *Kāsīputa*) Bhāgabhadra (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 157) who ruled about the middle of the second century B.C. (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 238, note). The Greek names of the *Yona-dāta* and his father as well as of the king who sent him leave no doubt that the word *Yona* (= *Yavana*) was used to mean the Greeks. Antialikita of the inscription is evidently the Indo-Greek king, named Antialkidas, whose coins with both Greek and Indian legends, have been discovered in the Punjab (Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 15-16). The possible reference to *Yavanarāja Dīmīta* and his identification with Demetrius may also be noticed (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 84, n. 31).

There is moreover evidence to show that the term *Yavana* was borrowed by the Indians directly from their Persian neighbours. The Persians became acquainted with the Greeks chiefly through the Ionian colonists whom they called *Yauna* (= Ionian). This term occurs in the inscriptions of Darius in a wider sense to signify the Greeks or people of Greek origin generally. The Persian word *Yauna* was borrowed by the Indians. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 43), for example, has :

*Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayisyāmi tān = api,
Yauna-kāṃboja-gandharāḥ kirātā barbaraiḥ saha,*

Yavana is only a Sanskritised form of *Yauna* of which the real Prakrit form is *Yona*. If the Indians learnt the use of the word from the Persians, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that they used it in an entirely different sense. It is possible that from the time of the Persian occupation of North-Western India (i.e., from the sixth century B.C.) and probably from still earlier times¹ the people of that part of India had commercial relation² with Persia. It may therefore be suggested that Indian merchants who visited the bazaars of Persia for purposes of merchandise came into contact with Greek merchants and called them *Yauna* in imitation of the people of that country.

As regards the second supposition of Dr. Thomas, it may be said that, in early Indian literature and records, the *Yavanas* are not only distinguished from other foreign tribes, but are mentioned side by side also with the *Pārasikas*, i.e., the Persians. The Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi's nineteenth year mentions the *Yavanas* along with the *Sakas* and the *Palhavas* who are said to have been routed by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (circa 107-31 A.D.). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54, 21) distinguishes the *Yavanas* from other foreign tribes in passages like *śakān = yavana-mitrītān* (i. e., *Sakas* who had the *Yavanas* with them). In the *Purāṇas* (e. g., *Vāyu*, 46, 105-21, see also 88, 122), the following foreign

¹ Arrian says (Chinnock's ed., p. 399) that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen is inhabited by the Astoceni and the Assaceni, Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land." Scholars like Ludwig, Hillebrandt and Weber think that the Persians were known to the Indians as *Parosca* as early as the time of the *Āgveda*. See Mardonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 534-35 (*paris*) and pp. 521-23 (*pārthava*); see also Camb. Hist. Ind., Vol. I, p. 322 and notes.

² There seems to have been political relations as well. Indian soldiers in the Persian army are known to have fought on Greek soil, while the Greeks too fought for the Persians in India (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 40).

tribes are said to have belonged to the Udīcya country: (1) Yavana, (2) Śaka, (3) Darada, (4) Tuṣāra and (5) Palhava. According to the *Mahābhārata* (V, 19), the Kāmboja king Sudakṣiṇa marshalled Yavana and Śaka forces at the great battle of Kurukṣetra. In works like the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 9), moreover, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Pārasīkas (Persians) are *separately* mentioned as peoples living in the Udīcya-deśa. Cf.

yavanās = cīna-kāmbojā daruṇā mleccha-jātayah,
sakṛdgrahāḥ kulatthās = ca hūnāḥ pārasīkaiḥ saha.

Rapson says (*Ancient India*, p. 86) that the word *Yavana* denoted the Greeks "in the Indian literature and inscriptions of the last three centuries before and the first two centuries after the Christian era." The latest extremity however must be pushed at least up to the age of Kālidāsa who is generally supposed to have lived in the 4th century A.D. and to that of Viśākhadatta who lived still later. It is generally believed that, while describing Raghu's victorious campaign in the western countries, Kālidāsa identifies the Yavanas with the Pārasīkas. This belief is based on a wrong interpretation of verses 60-64 of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, where, as a matter of fact, the poet clearly distinguishes the country of the Pārasīkas from that of the Yavanas. In verse 60, Raghu is said to have started from the Aparānta (Northern Konkan) and to have gone by the *sthala-patma* (land-route) to conquer the Pārasīkas. The king had a strong navy¹ and could have easily sailed from the Aparānta coast to the Persian shore. Why, then, did he go by the land-route? The answer is to be found in the next verse wherein we are told that Raghu was jealous, as it were, of the merry-making of the Yavana girls. The host of Raghu's army is here very happily

¹ Cf. verse 36, which describes Raghu's fight with the Vāḍgas.

compared with *a-kāla-jalad-odaya*. Verse 61 thus clearly suggests that in going to Persia from the Northern Koṅkan, Raghu had to cross the country of the Yavanas with whom he had no mind to fight.¹ Just as clouds temporarily prevent the lotuses from enjoying the sun, Raghu with his large army passed through the Yavana country frightening the Yavana girls and causing temporary cessation of their merry-making.² The case of the Yavana girls may be compared with that of the Kerala women who were running this way and that way in extreme fright when, starting from the Pāndya country, Raghu was marching through Kerala with a view to conquering the Aparānta.

In the passage *asti tārac = chaka-yavana-kirāta-kāmboja-pārasika-bāhlika-prabhṛtiḥ* of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act II, Viśakhadatta also distinguishes the Yavanas from the Pārasikas.³

¹ Cf. verses 53 and 54, which describe Raghu's march through Utkala and Kerala without fighting with the inhabitants of those countries. It may be supposed that these countries were ruled not by independent kings but by feudatory rulers.

² I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. Raghu did not fight with the Yavanas, but was going through their country to fight with the Pārasikas who lived further west (cf. *prācātyaḥ* in verse 62). But the very appearance of his large army in the Yavana country was sufficient to cause terror in the hearts of the inhabitants. The poet says that Raghu could have avoided this, but as he wanted jealousy, as it were, to put a stop to the merry-making of the Yavanas, he purposely preferred the land-walk. In interpreting verses 53-55 of the *Raghuramya*, IV, V. Venkayya also separated the Yavanas from the Pārasikas. For his interpretation, see *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1903-07, p. 218, note 1. See also Bühler, *Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* (p. 40) in *Ind. Ant.*, 1912.

³ I am indebted for this reference to Prof. Raychaudhuri. In the *Bhāṭṭarāṇḍī* (XIV, 17-18), Varāha Mihira mentions the Pārasikas along with the Śādras, Yavanas, Ambasthas, Kāmbojas and Sindhuasauvīras. It is not impossible that Pārasika here signifies the Persians. Vākpali (5th century A.D.), author of *Gaṇḍa-rāho*, mentions the Pārasikas in the list of peoples conquered by his master and hero, Yato-varman of Kanauj (Bühler, loc. cit.).

Evidence thus shows that the Yavanas were generally distinguished from the Persians and other foreign tribes by the Indians in ancient times even as late as the sixth century A.D. and that therefore the Persians and Yavanas were not identical.

II

ALLURU INSCRIPTION

In the year 1924, Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao discovered at Alluru (Nandigram taluka of the Kistna district), five miles from Yerrupalem, on the Bezwada-Hyderabad Railway line, an old Brāhmī inscription and the remains of an old Buddhist *stūpa*, at about two furlongs to the west of the village. A facsimile of the inscription (No. 331 of 1924), along with a short note on it, was published in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March, 1924. The inscription was afterwards edited by Dr. R. Shamasastri in the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1925. According to the transcript published in the *Review* the epigraph refers to *jayadharmā* (line 2), and *cāradharma* (line 5), and to Sana, king of the Ayis (lines 16-17), who is supposed to have been the grantor of some gifts. The *Report* rightly says that the inscription may be palæographically assigned to the 2nd century A.D. If, then, Dr. Shamasastri's reading and interpretation be correct, a king called Sana ruled over some parts, at least, of the Kistna district about that period, i.e., some time before the age of Jayavarman Bṛhatphalāyana.

It will, however, be seen from the facsimile that the transcript published in the *Calcutta Review* is faulty in many places, and that the words read as *jayadhama* and *cāradhama* there, are clearly *deyadhama* (pious gift) and *cā-ra-ḥe-ma* respectively. Here, however, we shall only examine the passage where the name of the king has been read.

The Alluru inscription is very important from the palæographical point of view. Though it is a fragment, all the letters that have been preserved are perfectly legible; and an interesting point is that in lines 7 and 13 we have a peculiar form—[𑀕]. This figure has been taken to be so in both the *Report* and the *Review*.

According to the *Report*, the inscription records the gift of "a certain Mahātālavara accompanied by his wife, son and daughter-in-law." Evidently the *Report* reads in line 16: *sabhāriyasa saputakasa sanasakasa* and finds in the last word a Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit word *snusā* (daughter-in-law).¹ In the transcript of the *Calcutta Review*, the last word of the passage has been read as *sandasa kala* (made by Sana). The letter after *ka* is certainly *sa*; but the letter after *sana* is that interesting figure we have referred to above.

I have no doubt that the letter which has been read as *sa*, is anything but that. The letter *sa* occurs many times in the inscription and in all cases the right side of the letter is prolonged upward to about the same height as that of the left side—[*ſ*]. It is clear that this form of *sa*, with the right side considerably raised upward, has been purposely used by the scribe to avoid a confusion between this letter and the *sa*-like form already referred to which occurs twice in the inscription. There can hardly be any doubt that the *sa*-like form is to be read as *tu*. It is certainly the original form from which the forms *ṣ* (= *tu*), *ṣ* (= *tu*), etc., of later inscriptions were developed. I, therefore, read line 16 of the Alluru inscription as *eta sabhāriyasa saputakasa sana-tukasa*. In the last word, then we get *naptṛ* (grandson) and not *snusā* (daughter-in-law), and the word really means "accompanied by (his) grandson" and not "accompanied by his daughter-in-law." From what has been said, it is clear that there is not the slightest reference to any person named Sana in line 16 of the Alluru inscription.² As regards the passage *ayirāṇa* (line 17), interpreted as "the

¹ In such a case, however, the passage is required to have been *sa-sanasaka*, like *sa-putaka* and *sa-bhāriyasa*.

² It must be noted that in the line 7, where also this form of *tu* occurs, the word has been read in the *Calcutta Review* as *caurisa* and has been translated as "twenty-six." I do not know how the word *caurisa* means twenty-six. The word is certainly *caurisa*, that is, twenty-four.

king of the Ayis," it may be left out without any serious consideration. The line (line 17) *ayirāṇa pūraseliyāna nigāyasa* should certainly be *āryāṇām pūrasailiyānām nikāyasya* in Sanskrit. Cf. *ayirahamgha* = Sanskrit *ārya-saṃgha* in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions.

Though it does not mention the name of any king, the Alluru inscription is important to the student of the history of South Indian Buddhism. It records the gift of lands and some other things to the *nikāya* of the *pūrasailiya āryas*. *Pūrasaila* or *Pūrasilā* has been mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang as *Fu-p'o-shih-lo* (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 214), and in the inscription F. of Nagarjunikonda as *Puvaseḷa* (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22). The grantor of the gifts is a certain Mahātālavara which word, as we have already seen, occurs several times in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions and probably means "a governor." The gifts appear to be in the shape of some *nivartanas*¹ of land, cows (*garī*), bullocks and carts (*balicadha-sakāṭa*), men-servants and women-servants (*dāsi-dāsa*), lamps (*divikāyo*),² pans (*kubhi-katāha*), iron-vessels (*lohiyo* = Sanskrit *lohikā*), vessels made of bell-metal (*kaśasa bhāyana*), etc., etc. There are also references to the dedication of a *talāka* (pond), of *kārṣāpaṇas* and of an *akṣaya-nīvi* (permanent endowment) of a thousand *putāṇas* (*putaṇa-sahasā*).

¹ According to Kaṇṇḍiyya's *Arthasāstra*, II, 20, one *nivartana* appears to have been 240 × 240 square cubits (2·975 acres). According to a commentator of the *Arthasāstra*, however, it was 120 × 120 square cubits (745 acres) only. Whereas the *daṇḍa* (rod) is equal to 8 cubits according to Kaṇṇḍiyya, it is equal only to 4 cubits according to the commentator. It may be conjectured that the measuring rod was 8 cubits long in some parts of ancient India, while in other parts it was only 4 cubits long. Measuring rods are not uniform in all the provinces or districts of India even at the present day. Note also that a Bombay *highā* (3925 sq. yds.) is equal to about 2½ Bengal *highās* (1 Bengal *highā* = 1600 sq. yds.) at the present time. The longer rod may also have been used for special measurements (see above, p. 186 n.).

For *daṇḍa* = 6 ft. (4 cubits), see Fleet's note at p. 541 of the English translation of the *Arthasāstra* (1st ed.), by Stammanstry.

² The passage is *raśalābhikārekaṇḍiyo paṇḍaḥ-divikāyo*. Some time ago, Mr. K. N. Dikshat informed me that it has been explained as "lamps of the shape of the mouth of a *raśalā* fish, manufactured by the Yavanas."

III

PEDDAVEGI GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN II

The Peddavegi plates appear to be in an excellent state of preservation. All the characters are perfectly legible.

These plates were edited in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, I, p. 92 ff. My reading is based on the excellent plates published there.

Text

1st Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 1. Śvasti [||*] Vijaya-Vengīpurān = naika-¹
samar-āvāpta-vijayino.²
L. 2. I. Hastivarmma-mahārājasya prapautraḥ³ vividha-
-dharmma-
L. 3. pradhānasya Nandivarmma-mahārājasya pautraḥ

2nd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 4. pratāp-opanata-sāmantasya⁴ Caṇḍavarmma-
mahārāja.⁵
L. 5. II. sya putro jyeṣṭhaḥ⁶ bhagavac-Citrarathasvāmi-
L. 6. pād-ānudhyāto bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 7. parama-bhāgavataś = Śālaṅkāyano Maharāja.⁷
grī⁸ -Nandi-

¹ Read "d = anka

² Read vijayinno.

³ Read "tro.

⁴ Read "yo.

⁵ Read "rāja.

⁶ Read "jha.

⁷ Read "Maha".

⁸ Read "ri.

- L. 8. varmmā Prālura-grāme Mutoḍa-sahitān = gra-
meya-
L. 9. kām = samajñāpayati ¹ [||*] Asti ² asmad-
dharmma-yaśo-'bhi-

3rd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 10. vṛddhy-arthan = triloka-nāthasya Viṣṇugrhasvā-
mina[h] *Aru-³
L. 11. III. toṇe vṛaja-pālakānāṃ kraṣṭum devabalañ = kṛtvā ⁴
L. 12. asmābhir = bhūmi-nivarttanāni daśa X tath =
aiva

3rd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 13. Muṇḍūra-grāme bhūmi-nivarttanāni daśa X
Ceñceru-
L. 14. va-grāme bhūmi-nivarttanāni ṣaṭ VI tath = ai-
L. 15. va Kamburāñceruve bhūmi-nivarttanāni ṣaṭ VI

4th Plate : 1st Side

- L. 16. dettāni ⁵ [||*] Tad = avagamya deśādhipaty-
āyuktaka-valla-
L. 17. IV. bha-rājapuruṣ-ādibhiḥ = parihartavyāni ||
L. 18. Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sampvatsarasya da-
śa-

4th Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 19. masya X Śrāvana-māsa-śukla-pakṣasya Pratipa-
L. 20. di patṭikā dattā [||*] Ājñāptir ⁶ = Mulakūra-
bhojaka[h] [||*]
L. 21. Lākhitaṃ rahasyādhikṛtena Kāṭikūriṇā [||*]

¹ Read 'amā'.

² Asti is superfluous.

³ Read 'am = 'pā'.

⁴ Read kṛtv = śamā'.

⁵ Read dettāni.

⁶ Read ājñaptir =.

5th Plate : 1st Side

- L. 22. Bahubhīrv = vasudhā dattā bahubhīś = c =
 ānupālītā [1*]
- L. 23. V. Yasya yasya yada bhūmi ¹ tasya tasya
 tadā phalam ² [||*]
- L. 24. Śaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge kṛṇāti
 bhūmidah [1*]

5th Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 25. Ākṣeptā c = ābbhimantā ca tāny = eva narake
 vased = itih ³ [||]

¹ Read bhūmis =² Read phalam.³ Read Gi.

IV

POLAMURU GRANT OF MADHAVAVARMAN I

The Polamuru grant of Mādhavavarman I was edited by R. Subba Rao in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17 f. But his reading does not seem to me quite accurate in all places. Mr. Subba Rao, moreover, did not notice the numerous mistakes in the composition of the record. His translation is also not satisfactory. The passage *viṣṇukoṇḍinām* = *appratihata-śāsana* has been translated as "whose edicts pass unchallenged with the name of Viṣṇukunḍi," *daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇātala-narapatir* = *avasita-rividha-dīrya* as "who subdued the kings of the whole earth of ten hundred villages," *parama-brahmaṇya* as "who is the best Brāhmaṇ," *taittirīyaka-sabrahmachārī* as "who is the true Brahmachārī of the Taittirika branch," etc., etc. It may also be pointed out that Ll. 29-34 have been translated as "The executors of this grant are Hastikośa and Vīrakośa who are great warriors and whose duty it is to protect the grant." I fail to find any connection between Ll. 29-34 and Mr. Subba Rao's translation.

My reading is based on the facsimile published along with Mr. Subba Rao's paper in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI.

Text

1st Plate : 2nd Side

L. 1. Svasti [||*] Bhagavat¹-śrīparvataśvāmī-pād-ānu-
dhyātasya Viṣṇuko[ṇḍinā]m = appra-

¹ Read Bhagavac-Chri'.

- L. 2. tihata-sāsanasya sva-pratāp-opanata-sāmanta-ma-
 nujapati-maṇḍala[śya]
 L. 3. I. virahita-ripu-śaḍ-vargasya vidh ¹-īndu-pavitra-
 trivargasya vibudha-pati-sā[ddhya?]-
 L. 4. śara-vira²-vibhava-bala-parākramasyā ³ śrī-Vikra-
 mahendrasya sūno ⁴ aneka-
 L. 5. samara-[saṃ]ghaṭṭa-vijayina[h]para-narapati-ma-
 [ku]ṭa-mapi-mayukh ⁵-āvadāta-ra-
 L. 6. [ra⁶]ṇa-yugalaśya Vikramāśrayasya śrī-Govinda-
 varmaṇaḥ priya-tanayaḥ ⁷ atula-
 L. 7. [ba⁸]ḷa-parā[kra]ma-yaśo-dāna-vinaya-sapa⁹-
 [ṇo] daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇīṭala-nara-

2nd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 8. patir = avasi[ta-vi]vidha-divyas = Trivarana-
 gara-bhavana-gata-yuvati ¹⁰-jana-vi-
 L. 9. haraṇa-ratir = annanya¹¹-nrpati-sādhāraṇa-dāna-
 māna-dayā-dāma ¹²-dḥṛti-
 L. 10. mati-kṣānti-kānti-śauriy ¹³-audāryya-gābhīryya ¹⁴-
 prabhṛty-aneka-guṇa-saṃpa-
 L. 11. j-janita-ṛaya-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍala-vyāpi-vipula-
 yaśoḥ ¹⁵ kratu-sa-

¹ Read *vidh-īndu*.

² Read *śāhpa* and *vira*. *Ddhya* is not clear and the idea seems to be awkwardly expressed.

³ Read **śya*.

⁴ Read **nor = ane*.

⁵ Read **gā*.

⁶ Read **ga = *tala*.

⁷ Read *sampanno*.

⁸ Subba Rao reads *yuvati*.

⁹ Read **r = annanya*.

¹⁰ Subba Rao reads *dharma*.

¹¹ Read *śaurya*.

¹² Read *gābhīrya*.

¹³ Read **patāḥ*.

- L. 12. hasra-yāji Hiranyagarbha-prasūta¹ ekādaś-Āśva-
medh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vi-
L. 13. gata-jagad-enaskah² sarva-bhūta-parirakṣaṇa-ou-
ñcuḥ³ vidva-dvija⁴-guru-vri⁵ -
L. 14. ddha-tapasvi-jan-āśrayo mahārājaḥ śrī-Mādhava-
varmā [||*] Api ca niyam⁶ = au-

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 15. śanasam sattvaṃ kaiśavaṃ kṛ[nṭi]m=ainda-
vīm⁷ udvahann=urubhā[h] bhāti vikram-
āda⁸ -
L. 16. pta-bhūri-bhūh⁹ apy=asau¹⁰ mahītala-nṛpati-bhā-
skaraḥ [||*] Parama-brahmaṇyo
L. 17. mātā-pitru¹¹-pād-ānudyātaḥ¹² Janāśraya-mahārā-
jaḥ¹³ Guddāvadi¹⁴-viṣa-
L. 18. II. yye¹⁵ viṣaya-mahāitarān¹⁶ =adbikāra-puruṣāṃś
= ca¹⁷ imam = arttham = ā[jñā]pa-
L. 19. yaty=asti¹⁸ vidi[ta]m=astu vo yath=āsmā-
bhi[h]¹⁹ Guddavādi-vi[ṣa]ye Da[li]ya-

¹ Omit *śāraṇa*.² Subba Rao reads *supra*.³ Read "*o*=*oidead-dev*".⁴ Read *vy*.⁵ Read *nāgani* = .⁶ Read "*śim* = *nd*".⁷ Read *urubhāt* = *bhāti* = *vikram* = *āpta*.⁸ Read "*bhāt* = *apy* = *asau*".⁹ Subba Rao reads *aspaṇa*.¹⁰ Read *pitr*.¹¹ Read "*dhyāto*".¹² Read "*rāja*".¹³ Read *Guddavādi*. *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10, reads *Guddavādi*.¹⁴ Read *viṣa*.¹⁵ Read *mahātta* = .¹⁶ Subba Rao reads "*ṣaṇṣa*". Read "*i* = *ī* = *ema*".¹⁷ *Asti* is superfluous.¹⁸ Read "*bhāt* = *Guddā*". See above, note 12.

- L. 20. vāvi-tīre Pulo[bū]ru-nāma-grāmaḥ ¹ Mayinda-
vāṭaki-dakṣinata-sī-
L. 21. mānte catu ²-nivaritanañ = ca kṣetram yugapat
pra[itam] prāg-di-jigīṣayā prasthi-

3rd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 22. taḥ Gooāva[rī]m = atitaran ³ veda-vedāṅga-
vido Rudraśā[rīma]ṇo naptre ⁴ sva-pitu-
L. 23. r = adhika-guṇ-ādhyasi-tanoḥ ⁵ Dāmaśarmmaṇaḥ
putrāya Sivaśarmmane Gauta-
L. 24. ma-sagoatrāya Karimmarāṣṭra-Kuṇḍūra-vāstavyā-
ya Taittirika ⁶-sabra[hma]cāriṇe
L. 25. veda-catustāya-samāmnāt-āvadāt-ānanāya sva-kar-
mm-anu ⁷.
L. 26. śthāna-parāya phālgunyām ⁸ paurṇamasyā ⁹ soma-
rāhu-sagraha-nimi[tte]
L. 27. Janāśraya-datyā ¹⁰-sarva-kara-parihāreṇ = āgrahā-
ri ¹¹ [kr] tyā ¹² samprattah [||*] Ta-
L. 28. thā bhavadbhir = anyaiś = ca dharm-adhiśata ¹³
buddhibhiḥ pari[pā]lanīya ¹⁴ [||*] Na kai-

¹ The third letter in the name of the village is not clear. *An. Rep. 3. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10, reads the name as Pulikūṭra. In the grant of Jayasīṃha I, the name is Pulakūṭra. Read "grāma = Mayi".

² Read *dakṣiṇa-stānta catu-nica*.

³ Read *prāg-di-jigīṣayā, prasthiṇā and tarasthiḥ*. Subba Rao reads *taram*.

⁴ Subba Rao reads *naptre*.

⁵ Read "*dhyāta-tano = Dāma*".

⁶ Read *Taittiriyaka*.

⁷ Read *karm-āna*.

⁸ Subba Rao reads *phālgunya*.

⁹ Read *paurṇamāsyam*.

¹⁰ Read "*dattā*". Subba Rao reads *dattāna*.

¹¹ Read "*hāri*".

¹² Read "*kṛtya*".

¹³ Read "*śata*".

¹⁴ Read *pālanīya*.

3rd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 29. ś = cid = vādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Ājñaptir = itra¹
Hastikośa-Vīrakośau [||*] Mahā-
L. 30. III. mātra-yodhayos = teṣāṃ² śreyaś kīrtir = idam³
mahat⁴ [||*] Ye-
L. 31. na⁵ lobhena lumpanti śvapākās = teṣu⁶ jāyate⁷
[||*] A[nyā]ya-
L. 32. samakāle tu sthātavyaṃ śaktiṭaḥ purā [||*]
Upekṣati
L. 33. punary = yatra⁸ nara[ke] sa [ni]majjati [||*]
Ity = evam = ubhaya-
L. 34. gapau sthikṛtyā⁹ paripālayet [||*] Atra
Vyāsa-gītā¹⁰ [ślokaḥ].

4th Plate : 1st Side

- L. 35. [Ba]hubhir = va[su]dhā dattā bahubhiś = c =
ānupā[li].
L. 36. tā[||*] Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya
tadā phalam¹¹ [||*] Sva-da-
L. 37. tīā¹² para-dattām = va¹³ yo hareti¹⁴ vasun-
dharām¹⁵ [||*] Śaṣṭhi-va[ri]sa¹⁶ sahasrā-

¹ Read *tir = atra.² Read *s = teyaḥ.³ Read igam.⁴ Read mahati.⁵ Read ca.⁶ Read tu.⁷ Read jāyante, though it does not suit the line, which seems to be in the anuṣṭubh metre.⁸ Read ya = 'tra.⁹ Read sthikṛtya. But the meaning of the passage is not clear.¹⁰ Read Vyāsa-gītāḥ.¹¹ Read phalam.¹² Read para-dattām.¹³ Read *dattam ca.¹⁴ Read hareti.¹⁵ Read *rām.¹⁶ Read ṣaṣṭhi-varta.

- L. 38. ṇi viṣṭhāyāñ=jāyate kṛmi [ḥ ||]* Śaṣṭhi¹
 varṣa-sahasrāṇi
- L. 39. svrage modati bhūmidah [| *] Ākṣettā² c=
 ānomanta ca tāny=eva naka³ va-
- L. 40. se[t] [||*] Na viṣa⁴ viṣam=ity=āhuḥ⁵
 brahmasvaṃ viṣam=ucyate [| *]
 Viṣam=e-
- L. 41. kāki[nam] ha[nti] brahma-svaṃ pu[tra]-
 pautrikam⁶ [||*] Vijaya-rājya-samvat-
 sare[40]⁷

¹ See note 16 at p. 338.

² Read ākṣepā.

³ Read narakā.

⁴ Read viṣaṇ.

⁵ Read 'hur=bra'.

⁶ Read 'nam.

⁷ The upper part of the symbol looks like 40, and the lower part like 8. See above, p. 104, note.

POLAMURU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I

These Plates have been edited in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IV, p. 72 ff. and in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 254 ff. My transcript is prepared from the facsimile published in the former.

Text

- L. 1. Svasti [||*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārāt¹ mātṛ-
gapa-parirakṣitānām Mānavya-sagotrāṇām
L. 2. I. Hārītī-putrāṇām² Aśvamedha-yājīnām Calu-
kyānām kula-jala nidhi-
L. 3. samutpanna-rāja-ratnasya sakala-bhuvana-
maṇḍala-maṇḍita-kīrttiḥ³ śrī-
L. 4. Kīrttivarmanmahapautrah⁴ aneka-samara-
saṃghaṭṭa vijayina[h] para-nara-
L. 5. pati-makūṭa-maṇi-mayūkh-āvadāta-carapa-
yugalasya śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana-
L. 6. mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravardhamāna-
pratāp-opanata-samasta-

2nd Plate: 1st Side

- L. 7. s[ā]manta-ma[n]ḍalāḥ sva-bāhu-bala-par-
[ākram-o]pārjita-sa[kala]-yaśo-
L. 8. vibhāsita-dig-antaraḥ sva-śakti-traya-triśūl-
āvabhinna-pura-narapati-

¹ Read *vān = mātṛ.

² Read *nām = Aśva.

³ Better read Kīrttiḥ.

⁴ Read *ta = 'neha.

- L. 9. sakala-bala-cetana¹ Brhaspatir=iva nayajño
Manur=iva vinaya-
L. 10. jñah² Yudhiṣṭhira iva dharma-parāyanah³
Arjuna-vad=apara-nara-
L. 11. patibhir=anabhilamghita-pauruṣyah⁴ aneka-
śāstrārthiḥ-tattvajñah para-
L. 12. ma-brahmanyā⁵ mānū-pity-pād-ānudhyātah
Śrī-Prithivī-Jayasīngha⁶-va-

2nd Plate : 2nd Side

- L. 13. labha-mahārājah⁷ Guddavādi⁸-viśaye viśaya-
mahatta[rān=adhi] kāra-pu-
L. 14. ruṣāṃś=ca⁹ imam=aritham=ājñāpayaty=
asti¹⁰ viditam=astu vo yath=āsamābhih¹¹
L. 15. II. Guddavādi-viśaye Pulobhūpra-nāma¹²-grā-
mah¹³ veda-vedāṅga-
L. 16. vido Dāmasarmmanah¹⁴ putrāya sva-pitur=
adhika-guṇa-gṣa-ādhi-
L. 17. vāsasya Śivaśarmmanah¹⁵ putrāya Taittirika
sābrahmacāriṇe¹⁶ veda-
L. 18. dvay-ālamkṛta-śarirāya¹⁷ Gautama-sagotrāya
sva[ka]rmm¹⁸=a [nuṣṭhāna]-

¹ Read -cetana.² Read *jñā.³ Read *na = 'rjuna.⁴ Read *gṣa = 'naka.⁵ Read brahmanyā.⁶ Read Prithivī-Jayasīngha.⁷ Read *rāja.⁸ Cf. da la veda-vedāṅga (l. 15).⁹ Read *śāṃś = ca = 'ma'.¹⁰ Asti is superfluous.¹¹ Read *samābhih =¹² Read *nāma'.¹³ Read *grāma.¹⁴ Read taittirīyaka sābrahmacāriṇe.¹⁵ Read *śarirāya.¹⁶ Read karmm-ānu'.

3rd Plate : 1st Side

- L. 19. parāya pūrvv-agrābārika ¹-Rudraśarmīṇaṇe ²
=Asanapura-sthāna-vāstavyāya
- L. 20. śrī-Sarvvasiddhi-datyā ³ sarvva-kara-paribāreṇ
=āgrahārīkrtya samprattah [||*]
- L. 21. Tathā bhavadbhīr=anyaiś=ca dharmmadhi-
śata ⁴-buddhibhiḥ paripālaniyāḥ [||*]
- L. 22. Na kaiś=cid=vādhā karaṇīyā [||*] Ājñasp-
tir=atra Hastikośa-Virakośa ⁵ [||*] Byā ⁶-
sa-gītāḥ Bahubhīrv=vasudhā dattā bahu-
bhiś=c=ānupālita [||*] Yasya yasya.
- L. 24. yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam=iti
[||*] Saṃ||5 | gi 8 | di 3⁷

¹ Read pūrvv-āgra².

² Read 'na' = 'sana'.

³ Read dattiyā.

⁴ Read dharmm-ādhiśayita⁵.

⁵ Read 'kośa'.

⁶ Read Vyāsa. The word ślokaḥ seems to be left out after gītāḥ.

⁷ The date was originally read in *An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1914, p. 10, as year [1]6, [1u] di 8 (Sunday). Subba Rao reads *saṃ 4*, which is certainly wrong. M. S. Sarma reads 5 gi (gi ?) 8 di 7 (*Journ. Andhra. Hist. Res. Soc.*, V, p. 183). I agree with Mr. Sarma except in the case of the last figure, which appears to me to be certainly 3. Cf. the symbol for 3 in l. 20 of the Polamuru grant of Mādhavarman I. Cf. also Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IX, col. viii. The date thus appears to be expressed in the old fashion. See above, p. 130 n.

VI

IMPORTANCE OF THE ĀSVAMEDHA

In a note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 114-115, it has been suggested that since Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukunḍin and Pravārasena I Vākātaka have been called simply *Mahārāja* (not *Mahārājādhirāja*) in the inscriptions, they are to be taken as petty feudatory chiefs even though they performed the Āśvamedha. In support of this theory, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that "even a feudatory chieftain can perform a horse-sacrifice" (*ibid.*, p. 115) and that the Āśvamedha "may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*" (p. 116). These theories however are not only against the evidence of the Śruti literature, but also go against the evidence of the inscriptions of these kings.

In inscriptions, Pravarsena I has been called *śamrāt* which never signifies a subordinate chieftain (*cf.*, *śamrāt[ho]* *vākāṭakānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasenasya*, etc., in the Bala-ghat plates; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270, l. 4; also the Chāmmak plates; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 235).¹ That Mādhavavarman I was not incapable of *dig-vijaya* is proved by a reference to his expedition for conquering the eastern countries in the Polamaru grant (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, p. 17; *above*, p. 131). *Mahārājādhirāja*, based on *rājātirāja*, etc., of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas, was in early times not very often

¹ A critic of my views has tried to explain the passage *śamrāt[ho]* *vākāṭakānām* "as mere overlord of the Vākātakas" (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 705). There is however a number of instances (e.g., in the early Pallava and Kādamba grants) which prove beyond doubt that *vākāṭakānām* here means "of (*i.e.*, belonging to) the Vākātaka family." Another critic takes (*ibid.*, II, pp. 54-55) *śamrāt vākāṭakānām* to be one word in composition and points out that the passage has been used only in connection with the name of Pravarsena I which fact, he thinks, shows that the Vākātakas lost their original imperial position after the time of that king. This interpretation however supports our view that Pravarsena I Vākātaka was a *śamrāt*. The Doda plates (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 260 and n. 7), it should be noted, read *śamrātāḥ* which, according to Kielhorn, is apparently a mistake for *śamrājāḥ*.

used in South India. The Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I who performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice ruled over the Kuntala country about the middle of the 5th century A.D. In inscriptions, he is simply styled Dharma-Mahārāja—not Dharmā-Mahārājādhirāja like Pallava Śivaskandavarman and others. The Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34) however calls him *ek-ātapatra*, "possessor of the sole umbrella," which, as scholars have suggested (Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 39 n), "is indicative of universal sovereignty." A subordinate king can hardly be called *ekātapatra*. The Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) moreover calls him *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumati-vasupati*, "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha," which "clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan." See *above*, p. 222, and *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV, p. 305; also my paper on Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I in *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVI, p. 160 ff. Note also that the Malavalli record (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 264) describes an Early Kadamba king as *kadambānaṃ rājā*, but also as *vaijayanti-dhamma-mahārājādhirāja*. The Penunkonda plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331) mention the Gaṅga feudatory named Mādhava-Mahādhirāja and his Pallava overlord Skandavarman-Mahārāja. For Mahārāja Varāhasimha, general of Rājā Aparājita, see the Nagda record (*Ind. IV*, p. 31).

Keith has pointed out that the Aśvamedha "is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring, to increase their realms" (*Rel. Phil. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XV, 1) says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. According to the *Taittirīya Br.* (III, 8. 9. 4), "he is poured aside who being weak offers the Aśvamedha," and again (V, 4. 12.3), "it is essentially, like the fire offering, an *utsanna-yajña*, a sacrifice of great extent and elaboration." See Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii-iv. According to the *Āpastamba Śrauta S.*

(XX, 1.1), 'a universal (*sārvabhauma*) king can perform the *Asvamedha*, but not ($n = \bar{a}pi$)² an un-universal (*a-sārvabhauma*) king. It is clear from these statements that a subordinate ruler could never celebrate the *Asvamedha*. A performer of the *Asvamedha* may not have been a ruler of the earth from North Pole to South Pole or of India from the *Himālaya* to the *Kumārikā*; but he must have been an independent ruler of a considerable portion of India.

An essential feature of the *Asvamedha*, besides the actual slaying of the horse, is that about the completion of the performance, at the bidding of the *Adhvaryu* "a lute-player, a *Rājanya*, sings to the lute three *Gāthās*, verses, made by himself which refer to victories in battle connected with the sacrifice" (Keith, *Rel. Phil. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 344). Further, "As revealed in the later texts, the sacrifice is essentially one of the princely greatness. The steed for a year roams under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers bearing quivers and arrows, and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers bearing staves" (*Sat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 2, 5; *Baudh. Sr. S.*, XV, 1). See *Black Yajus*, *loc. cit.* To manage these requirements is simply impossible for a subordinate chief.

Moreover, that the progress of the *Asvamedha* was sometimes impeded when other kings challenged one's authority to perform the sacrifice, is not only proved from the early cases referred to in *Sat. Br.* (XIII, 5. 3, 21-22) and

¹ See *Saṅkalpaśāstram-pariṣiṣṭa* (Hindustani Office, Calcutta), s. v. *Asvamedha*.

² In place of $n = \bar{a}pi$ there is an alternate reading *api*, which is a later interpolation according to Keith (*Black Yajus*, p. cxviii). The interpolation seems to show that *sārvabhauma* (=not master of all the land) kings could also perform the *Asvamedha*. The word *sārvabhauma* however never means a feudatory. The alternative reading only shows that in later times kings who were powerful but who did not claim to be ruler of the earth (i.e., the major portion of the country) did also perform the *Asvamedha*. It must however be noticed that the alternate reading goes against all the old texts quoted above.

Mahābhā. (XIV, 74-84), but is also proved by a tradition recorded in such a late work as Kālidāsa's *Mālarikāgnimitra* (Act V). It is stated that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's sacrificial horse was let loose to roam for a year at its own will under the guardianship of his grandson Vasumitra who was attended by a hundred princes and brought the horse back after defeating the Yavanas as the horse perchance reached the southern bank of the Sindhu (*i.e.*, the Indus) and was captured by the Yavana horsemen. That the *Aśvamedha* could not be performed without some sort of *dig-vijaya* is further conclusively proved by an eighth century inscription of the Pallavas. The Udayendiram grant No. 2 (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273) records that Udayacandra, general of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, defeated the Niṣāda king Prthivīvyāghra who was accompanying an *aśvamedha-turaṅgama*, *i.e.*, horse let loose in connection with a horse-sacrifice. This instance proves beyond doubt that the essential features of the *Aśvamedha* hardly changed even as late as the 8th century A.D. The famous poet Bhavabhūti who flourished in the same century also recognises the above characteristic when he refers to the sacrifice as *aśvamedha itī viśvajayinām kṣatriyāṇām = utkarṣaḥ sarva-kṣatriya-paribhācī mahān = utkarṣa-niṣkarṣaḥ* (*Uttaracarita*, Act IV).¹ Al-Bīrūnī (first half of the eleventh century A.D.) also says, "certain of them (*i.e.*, sacrifices) can only be performed by the greatest of their kings. So, *e.g.*, the *Aśvamedha*" (*Sachau, Al-Bīrūnī's India*, II, p. 139).

Dr. Bhandarkar thinks (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 111) that the number of performances of the *Aśvamedha* could be increased by simply multiplying the amount of *dakṣiṇā* payable to the Brāhmaṇas. This view is however based on a wrong inter-

¹ I am indebted for this and for some other references to Prof. H. C. Raychandhuri. That the *Aśvamedha* did not lose its original and essential significance in later times is also proved by the Valluvanath Temple inscription which refers to *Adityasena na rāṭā samade-dantar-vaṇḍakāpā purī - āśvamedha-ādya-mahāratnāṇaḥ*.

prefation of the following verse of the *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 88. 14) :

*evam = atra mahārāja dakṣiṇām tri-guṇām kuru,
tritaṃ vrajatu te rājan brāhmaṇā hy = atra kāraṇam.*

The verse obviously implies that, according to a Brahmanical theory, the merit accruing from the celebration of the *Asvamedha*, and not the *Asvamedha* itself, could be tripled if the performer offered three-fold *dakṣiṇā* to the *Brāhmaṇas*.¹

In *Ind. Cult.*, II, pp. 140-141, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has quoted the *Harivaṃśa* to show that feudatory rulers could also perform the *Asvamedha*. Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, lived at Gokula on Mount Govardhana in the vicinity of Mathurā; he was engaged in cattle-rearing and was a *karaḍāyaka* to Kāṃsa, the king of Mathurā (*Harivaṃśa*, LIV, 1162-61). After the fall of Kāṃsa, the family of Vasudeva removed to Dvārakā. In Kṛṣṇa's conversation with Indra there is an incidental reference which says that while in Dvārakā Vasudeva performed an *Asvamedha* (*ibid.*, CL, 8574).²

It will be seen that Mr. Ghosh's contention is clearly beside the mark. The question at issue is whether Vasudeva was a feudatory of the Mathurā kings at the time of celebrating the sacrifice after he was established in Dvārakā. There is absolutely no proof to show that he was. We do not know whether the Dvārakā region ever submitted to the kings of Mathurā. It must also be noted that the evidence of traditions recorded in works like the *Harivaṃśa* should always

¹ Another supporter of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory says (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 337 n), "The *Asvamedha* certainly had a great imperial significance in the old days. But in the period under review it must have lost that importance. Otherwise it would not have been repeated so often." It may however be pointed out that the *Asvamedha* is known to "have been repeated" many times even "in the old days." Cf., e.g., *Mahābhārata* Drona's 131 *Asvamedhas* in *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 3. 3. 11; also *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40 and above, p. 125.

² Bāṅgubhāṭ ed., *Vṛṇṇapara*, 91, 24.

be taken with a grain of salt. *Harivaṃśa* is obviously written for the exaltation and glorification of the family (*vaṃśa*) of Hari (i.e., Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva) and like similar treatises in honour of other religious heroes is not free from extravaganzas incident to a pronounced theological bias. The critical historian can hardly hope for sober history in such texts. On the contrary the probability is that the parent of the hero of the tale has been given more than his due. In the *New Testament* the saviour of the Christians is described as the son not of a mortal man but of God, and in the *Saundarananda* (II, verses 32, 39, etc.), etc., glories of the mightiest rulers are put on the head of a petty Śākya chief named Śuddhodana.

Mr. Ghosh moreover does not appear to take the evidence of the *Harivaṃśa* as a whole. While describing the *Aśvamedha* that was attempted by Janamejaya, *Harivaṃśa* itself (Baṅgabāst ed., *Bhaviṣyaparva*, 2) makes it clear that the horse-sacrifice could not be celebrated by a petty chief. When the *Sarpa-yajña* was finished, Janamejaya collected materials for the celebration of an *Aśvamedha*. Then he invited the *pṛiviks*, *purohitas* and *ācāryas*, and said, "I am desirous of celebrating a horse-sacrifice. Do ye dedicate the horse" (verses 5 and 6).¹ Knowing however that the king's sacrifice would not be successful, the omniscient Vyāsa warned him not to begin the *Aśvamedha*. The sage said, "The Śruti lays down that the Kṣatriyas should celebrate the *Aśvamedha*, the foremost of sacrifices. On account of the greatness of it, Vāsava will violate your sacrifice" (verse 28).² "O slayer of enemies," the sage added, "as long as the world will last, Kṣatriyas will not

¹ Yajñe = 'hag' vājmedhena hayam = ataripatam = iti.

² *Aśvamedhah kratuḥśreṣṭhaḥ kṣatriyapūṣṭiḥ paridantaḥ, tena bhāṛtva te pajñam vāsavo dharmajiganti.*

That the *Aśvamedha* could be performed by great kings only is also proved by the fact that Vāsava (= Indra) is always represented as jealous of its performance. The *Harivaṃśa* describes how he endeavoured to spoil the *Aśvamedha* of Janamejaya.

be able to collect materials for your horse-sacrifice " (v. 35).¹ The king became very sad and said, " Console me by saying that the Asvamedha will again be undertaken by kings " (v. 58).² To this Vyāsa replied, " As energy counteracted by another lives in it, so (the knowledge of) the Asvamedha, although stopped, will exist in the gods and Brāhmanas. There will be one Senāni, " an Audbhijja, a Drija and a descendant of Kaśyapa, who will revive the Asvamedha in the Kali age " (v. 39-40).³ Could this great sacrifice, of which the *Harivaṃśa* speaks in so high terms, be performed by a petty feudatory chief ?

Mr. Ghosh further points out (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 547 f.) that Sewai Jaysingh of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.), though he was a feudatory of the Mughal Emperors Farrukh-siyar (1712-19) and Muhammad Shāh (1719-48), according to Todd (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1873, pp. 328-32), performed a horse-sacrifice and that therefore subordinate rulers could perform

(*Bhāṣyapūra*, 8). Note also what Viśvāsmi says to the king : " O king, thou hast celebrated three hundred sacrifices ; Vāsava therefore cannot forgive thee any longer " (*Śrī-pañca-tata-gaṇḍaśaśi* edeśas = *tejas na mṛgāte*. *ibid.*, 5, 24). In this connection note what Bhindarkar himself says in another occasion (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, App., p. 2, n. 5). " As Indra is represented as being suspicious of Goriṇḍa Gupta's power, the latter seems to have been a supreme ruler." See the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Ch. 78, in which the significance of the Asvamedha and the cause of Indra's unfavourable attitude are clearly described ; also *Raghu*, III, 38-66 ; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV, 16, 24 ; etc.

¹ *Trāpā vṛttāṃ kṛtūṃ = e = aśva aśvamedham parantapo, kṛtṛpā n = āhariganti yāda = bhāmir = dhariṣṭi.*

² *Yady = aśi = pamar = ārttir = gajhary = āśvāpūreṇa mān.*

³ The reference is generally thought to be to Puzyamitra Śaṅga. But that is doubtful, as the Śaṅgas were Bhāradvajas and not Kāśyapas. On the strength of this verse and another in the *Mānavikāyaṃśita*, Raychaudhuri suggests (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 339 ff. ; IV, p. 363 ff.) that Puzyamitra was possibly not a Śaṅga but a Balmika. The unanimous evidence of the Puzas, however, may be set aside only on evidence of a more positive character. Bimbaka or Bimbika appears to have been a predecessor of Puzyamitra. Ghosh thinks that the Śaṅgas were *dyāvanapūyasa*, i.e., both Bhāradvajas and Kāśyapa.

⁴ *Upāṭi-gajhaṇa devaṇa brāhmanay = āpāṭeṇa, tejasā vyāhṛtāṇ tejas = tejay = ex = āvṛtiṣṭhate ; audbhijja bhavāṭi kaś = cit senāni kāśyapa devaja, āśvamedham kalipage paṇḍa pratyūharigati.*

the Āśvamedha. In my opinion, however, if Sewai Jaysingh performed any horse-sacrifice he must have become virtually independent before its celebration. In a paper on this subject in *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 376 ff, I suggested that Sewai Jaysingh may not actually have celebrated any Āśvamedha and pointed out that he was certainly not a vassal of the Mughal emperors of Dehli during the later years of his reign. I quoted the words of Todd himself: 'Among the vanities of the founder of Ambér, it is said that he intended to get up the ceremony of the *Āśvamedha yāga* or "sacrifice of the horse" a rite which his research into the traditions of his nation must have informed him had he entailed destruction on all who had attempted it, from the days of Janameja the Pāṇḍu, to Jaichand the last Rajpoot monarch of Canauj' (*op. cit.*, p. 339). It was pointed out that Todd only speaks of probabilities—'it is said,' 'he intended to,' etc. It is moreover a known fact now that Todd who wrote early in the nineteenth century and had scarcely any means of testing the authenticity of bardic tales is not accurate in his details. The very passage quoted above from Todd shows that the celebrated author made at least three statements which are not borne out by authentic history. Firstly, he calls Sewai Jaysingh 'the founder of Ambér.' This is wrong; because Jaysingh was the founder of Jaypur or Jaynagar, and not of Amber. Secondly, he mentions Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra as 'the last Rajpoot monarch of Canauj.' It is, however, now definitely known that the last Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj was not Jayaccandra, but his son Hariścandra who, as is known from the Machhlisbahr and Belkhara inscriptions, ruled as a *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* at least up to Samvat 1257 = A.D. 1200 (*J.A.S.B.*, 1911, pp. 763-65). Thirdly, he credits Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra with the celebration of an Āśvamedha like the Pāṇḍava king Janamejaya. No historian has ever suggested that Jayaccandra performed

any horse-sacrifice. He is never credited with the Asvamedha in any of the numerous Gāḍaḍavāla records, nor in any other work that refers to him. Bardic traditions however report that Jayaccandra performed a Rājasūya-yajña along with the *svayamvara* of his daughter, the celebrated Samyogitā. I therefore suggested that Todd may have confused the Rājasūya and Asvamedha sacrifices. This suggestion has however been recently controverted by Mr. P. K. Gode (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XV., 364 ff; *Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 186 ff; *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśh*, II, p. 43 ff.) who points out that MSS. of Sadāśiva-Daśaputra's *Ācārasmṛticandrikā*, Kṛṣṇa-kavi's *Īśvaravilāsa*, Vrajanātha's *Padya-taraṅgiṇī*, Viśveśvara's *Pratāpārka* and Hariścandra's *Dharma-saṃgraha* refer to the Asvamedha performed by Sewai Jaysingh. I have read Cantos IV and V of the *Īśvaravilāsa* as quoted by Mr. Gode in *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśh* and admit that the evidence is genuine.

Now the point is whether Sewai Jaysingh performed the Asvamedha as a vassal of the Mughal emperors. It is admitted by all writers on Mughal history that within less than twenty years after the death of Aurangzīb in 1707 the actual possessions of the so-called emperors of Dehli became limited within the district round the walls of their capital, and that after the invasion of Nadir Shāh in 1739 no power of the emperors was left in Rajputana. We need not go into details. It will suffice to refer to Sir Jadunath Sarkar who says, 'The invasion of Nadir Shāh dealt such a shattering blow to the empire of Dehli that after it the imperial authority was *totally* eliminated from Rajputana in all but the name. The Rajput princes were left *entirely* to themselves (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 279). It is interesting in this connection to note that Todd himself takes the celebration of the sacrifice as a 'virtual assumption of universal supremacy' (*op. cit.*, p. 339). He also says, ' amidst revolution, the

destruction of the empire, and the meteoric rise of the Mahrattas, he (*i.e.*, Jaysingh) not only steered through the dangers, but elevated Ambér above all the principalities around ' (*op. cit.*, p. 331).

That Sewai Jaysingh defied imperial authority even before 1739 is proved by the following facts. In the war of succession that followed the death of Aurangzib, he attached himself to prince Bidar Bakht, son of Ajam Shāh, and declared him successor of Aurangzib. For this opposition, Ambér was sequestered and an imperial governor sent to take its possession; but Jaysingh entered his states sword in hand, drove out the imperial garrisons and formed a league with Ajitsingh of Marwar for their mutual preservation (Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 328). That he had independent political relations with neighbouring states is also proved by the fact that he did 'dispossess the Birgoojur of Deoti and Rajore which were added to his dominions; they embraced all the tract now called Macherri' (*op. cit.*, pp. 337-38).

The only proof of Sewai Jaysingh's vassalage to the Dehli emperors is that, according to traditions, he was successively the governor of Agra and Mālwa and was made governor of Mālwa a second time in 1732 under Muhammad Shāh. We must however note in this connection that the great Marāṭhā leader, the Peshwā, snatched away the provinces of Gujarāt and Mālwa from Muhammad Shāh who issued a *farmān* bestowing the *nāib subahdārī* on the Peshwā.¹ The Marāṭhā leader replied that 'though the *chauth* of the whole of Hindusthān was his due, he would be satisfied with the above two *subhas*' (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 277). Will any student of Marāṭhā history believe that the great Peshwā, formally the *nāib subahdār* of Muhammad Shāh, was a feudatory of the *rois faindants* of Dehli? Again, the so-called Mughal emperors occupied the throne of

¹ It is interesting to note that the emperor of Dehli conferred (June 12, 1723) the dignified title *Rājādhirāja* on Sewai Jaysingh (*Poona Orientalist*, II, p. 168).

Dehli as late as A.D. 1858 when Bahādur Shāh II (1837-1858) was deposed, and the East India Company pretended to rule in the name of the Mughal emperors. Would it justify us to suppose that Governors-General of the East India Company were feudatory to the puppet emperors of Dehli?

In my opinion therefore the suggestions that Sewai Jaysingh of Amber performed a horse-sacrifice as a feudatory of the Mughal emperors and that therefore the Aśvamedha could be celebrated by a feudatory chief are inadmissible.¹

¹ Jaysingh may have performed the Aśvamedha after 1739 and before 1744. There is however a tradition current at Jaipur which refers to an invitation for an Aśvamedha received by Nāgābhāṣa from Sewai Jaysingh (*Mināśa Prakāśh*, II, p. 43). Even if this tradition be genuine, I think that the sacrifice should be styled not as one celebrated by a feudatory of the Mughals but as one performed by a virtually independent king. The Sūkti verses quoted by Memns, J. C. Ghosh and A. Ghosh (*Ind. Cult.*, III, pp. 769 f.; 768 f.) prove nothing (see my note, *ibid.*, IV, p. 272 f.).

VII

DIVYAS¹

The prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals in ancient Indian courts is amply attested by the Smṛti literature. The subject has been dealt with in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, verses 95-113, and the Sanskrit lexicon *Sabdakalpadruma* (Calcutta) under the word *parikṣā*. It has also been discussed by Hopkins in *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 282 ff., by Stenzler in *Z.D.M.G.*, IX, p. 661, by Schlagintweit in *Die Gotteswitheile der Inder* (1866) and by Jolly in *Recht und Sitte*, p. 145. We refer our readers to a very interesting paper "On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, Chief Magistrate of Benares, communicated by Warren Hastings Esq.'" in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 389-404. See also *S.B.E.*, XXV, p. cii; Kaegi in *Alter und Herkunft des german. Gotteswitheils* (1887), B. V. Bhat in *Bhārat-Itihās-saṃśodhak-Maṇḍal* (3rd vṛtta, p. 42 ff.) and S. N. Sen in *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 2nd ed., pp. 363-68.

According to scholars like Bühler and Jolly (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 283; *S.B.E.*, XXV, p. cii; *Recht und Sitte*, p. 145), it is possible that all the nine forms of ordeal mentioned in later Smṛti literature existed in India from the earliest times. This implication evidently takes its stand on some doubtful early references and on the solitary example of a form of the *phāla-dīvya* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (VI, 16, 1-2) and the recognition of the *daiva* (divine) proofs in the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra* (II, 11, 3;

¹ My paper on the *Divyas* was originally read before the members of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Itajahmundry (Madras Presidency), and was published in the Society's *Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 195 f.

cf. 29.6).¹ Some scholars, e.g., Hopkins, Stenzler, Schlagintweit and Kaegi, on the other hand, believe that fire and water ordeals were first used and then came the elaborate trials by balance and other ordeals, till eventually there were nine formal ordeals (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 283; *Z.D.M.G.*, IX, p. 661, etc.). The latter view seems to be more probable.

The earliest reference to trial by ordeal in India is to be found in the *Ohāndogya Upaniṣat* (*loc. cit.*) where it is said that a man accused of theft takes in his hand a heated axe and is proved guilty if it burns him, but is acquitted if it does not. The above *Upaniṣat* seems to have been composed in a country to the South of Gandhāra (modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts) and in a place between the Indus and the Jumna (see *op. cit.*, VI, 14, 1-2; VI, 10, 1). The reference to the axe-ordeal in it shows that this form of the *phāla-dīrṃya* was used in that country when the *Upaniṣat* was composed about 550 B.C. (see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 116 and 112). There is however no proof to show that this ordeal was used in the different parts of India from such an early date as the sixth century B.C.

More important seems to be the recognition of the *daiva* or divine² form of proof by the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra*

¹ *Āpastamba*—"In doubtful cases they shall give their decision after having ascertained the truth by inference, ordeal and the like means" (*S.E.R.*, II, p. 168). Trial by ordeals are said to have been referred to in early works like the *Paṭasarpīṣa-Brahmaṇa*. Geldner thought that the ordeal by red-hot axe is referred to even in the *Ṛgveda*, and Griffith discovered in another passage of it references to the fire and water ordeals. According to Weber, the *Satapatha-Brahmaṇa* makes mention of the balance ordeal. Mardonesell and Keith however do not agree with any of these scholars. Scholars like Schlagintweit, Weber, Ludwig and Zimmer think that the fire ordeal is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda*; but Bloomfield and Whitney have disproved this theory. The system of trial by ordeals may or may not have been referred to in the early Vedic literature; but the practice seems to have been not unknown in India even in the early Vedic period (see *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 317-18, 361-66). A full-fledged system universally used was, however, most probably unknown.

² Cf. *Nārada*—"Proof is said to be of two kinds, human and divine. Human proof consists of documentary and oral evidence. By divine proof is

(*loc. cit.*) which is a book on law. It must be noted that no other early text on criminal law prescribes trial by ordeal for the person accused. According to Bühler (*S.B.E.*, II, 2nd ed., p. xiv), the *Sūtras* of Āpastamba are to be assigned to a date not later than the third century B.C., but may be placed 150 or 200 years earlier. Āpastamba's however is a general recognition; none of the ordeals has been defined in the *Sūtras*. The chief subject discussed by him under this head are assault, adultery and theft. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kauṭilya, supposed to be the author of the celebrated *Arthasāstra*, does not recognise the application of ordeals in connection with civil or criminal procedure. According to the Purāṇas, *Mudrārākṣasa*, *Mahāvamśa* and *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Kauṭilya lived about the time of Candragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C. He is therefore generally supposed to have been more or less of the same age as Āpastamba and to have had in his purview the administration of the Mauryas whose kingdom embraced almost the whole of India. These facts may not be sufficient to justify us in assuming that Kauṭilya is earlier than Āpastamba,¹ but they may suggest that the

meant the ordeal by balance and other (modes of divine test); where a transaction has taken place by day, in a village or town, or in the presence of witnesses, divine test is not applicable. Divine test is applicable (where the transaction has taken place) in a solitary forest, at night, or in the interior of a house, and in cases of violence or of denial of a deposit" (*S.B.E.*, XXXIII, pp. 30-31).

¹ See, however, Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 161: "I have pointed out that its contents describe the state of things as existing immediately before the establishment of the Maurya empire, while Mr. Samasvaty suggests that it may refer back even to the pre-Buddhistic age. The book seems to be based on much more ancient treatises now lost and a good deal of it must have been archaic in Maurya times." I do not agree with Johnston and Jolly (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1929, p. 77 ff.) who think that Kauṭilya, Cāṇakya or Viśnugupta was a fictitious figure. The testimony of the Purāṇas and other works (though not contemporaneous) regarding Kauṭilya's connection with Candragupta Maurya may be disregarded only on definite negative evidence. Absence of reference to Kauṭilya in the works of classical writers and in early works like the *Milindapañho* is not definite proof. Kauṭilya appears to have been the founder of a new school of Political Philosophy, and the *Arthasāstra* may be the work of this school.

system of trial by ordeal was not much popular and was not universally used in India about the fourth century B.C. which is generally supposed to be the time of Kauṭilya and Āpastamba. The general reference to *daiva* trial by Āpastamba possibly shows that the system of applying ordeals, known to him and used in his time and place, was not elaborate like that illustrated by later law-givers, but was rudimentary like that recognised in the *Manusmṛitā*.

In view of the fact that the law-givers lived in different ages and in different parts of this vast country, we cannot expect unanimity in their views regarding trial by ordeal. It is interesting to note that the word *divya* originally meant an "oath," that is, a form of invoking the Supreme Being to prove the truth of an allegation; but later it was generally understood to mean "trial by ordeal," that is, a form appealing to the direct interposition of divine power. In connection with the development of the system of trial by ordeals, it is also interesting to note that while the system is unknown to the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, it is seen sprouted in the codes of Āpastamba and Manu, a little developed at the time of Yājñavalkya and Nārada, and fully grown at the age of the *Mīlākṣarā* of Viṣṇuśeṣvara and the *Dīpyatattva* of Brhaspati. According to Kauṭilya (*Arthasāstra*, II, i), "Self-assertion (*svayamcāda*) on the part of

Many of its views may be ascribed to Kauṭilya; but the book, in its present form, is certainly post-Christian. The reference to Cina (derived from the name of the Tsin dynasty) proves that the *Arthasāstra* cannot be earlier than the later half of the 3rd cent. B.C. The language and structure of the text and reference to the system of dating in terms of regnal year, month, fortnight and day (III, VI) prove that the work cannot be much earlier than the 2nd cent. A.D. which is the time of Rudradāman's Junagadh inscription. The present *Arthasāstra* may be placed in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. The suggestion that works like the *Arthasāstra* present an ideal rather than the real state of society can only be partially true. The *Arthasāstra* could hardly avoid referring to trial by ordeals, had the system been popular in the locality where Kauṭilya's school developed. For an interesting paper on the date of the *Arthasāstra* by Mr. A. S. Bose, see *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 433 ff.; see also my paper *Popularisation of Classical Sanskrit and the Age of Sanskrit Dharma*, read at the Indian History Congress, Allahabad (1935).

either of the litigant parties has been found faulty; examination (*anuyoga*), honesty (*ārjava*), evidence (*hetu*) and oath (*śapatha*)—these alone enable a man to win his cause." It appears that the system of trial by ordeal did not fully develop and was not popular at the time and locality of the author (or authors) of the *Arthasāstra*. This fact possibly goes to show that Kauṭilya cannot be placed—as is the view of some scholars¹—in the 3rd century A.D. i.e., almost about the time of Yājñavalkya.²

The simple *śapatha* of the *Arthasāstra* is seen developed at the age of the *Manusamhitā*, i.e., about the 1st century A.D. or the 1st century B.C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 279).³ According to Manu, a Brāhmaṇa—in order to justify the truth of his statement—should be compelled to swear by a declaration of truth: a Kṣatriya by his *vāhana* (horse, elephant, etc.), a vaiśya by his cattle, seed-corn and gold, and a Śūdra by all sins. Alternatively, a Śūdra may be put to fire, drowned into water or compelled to touch separately the heads of his sons and wives and swear; in these cases, the man who is not burnt by fire or quickly drowned by water and whose sons and wives (heads of whom were touched in swearing) do not fall ill within a short time, is to be considered as true regarding his statement (see *Manusamhitā*, VIII, verses 113-15). Manu therefore seems to have known only three forms of ordeals, the last

¹ See Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 5, note.

² Cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 383: "As the *Sāstras* do not notice ordeals except for a general recognition of them as 'divine' proofs on the part of the late Apastamba, and as the later writers Yājñavalkya and Nārada describe five ordeals adding the plough-share, scales and poison, it is reasonable to conclude that Manu stands, in time as well as description, midway between the two sets of authors and is the first to describe ordeals already known and practised."

³ Later writers too have practised *śapatha* for minor and direg for serious crimes. Cf.

dera-brāhmaṇa-pāṭipī = *va patra-dāra-śāstra* ca;

etc. in śapathāḥ preta-manuṣa-śulpa-kṛmāḥ;

śāstraḥ = *abhiśāpe* ca *dirgaḥ* ta *vācānam*;

(*Sādhakāpudraṇa*, s.v. *śapatha*)

form of which however is not mentioned as a legal *divya* in the works of the later law-givers.¹

In the age of the Code of Yājñavalkya who possibly lived in Mithilā about the 4th century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 279), the system of trial by ordeals became more developed. According to this law-giver "Balance, fire, water, poison and *Kośa*—these are the ordeals used here for the proof of innocence, when the accusations are heavy and when the accuser offers to hazard a mulct (in case he should fail); or one party may be tried by ordeal if he likes, the other then must risk an amercement; but the trial may take place even without any wager if the crime committed be injurious to the king . . . Balance for women, children, old men, the blind, the lame, Brāhmanas and the sick; but for the *Sūdra*, fire or water or seven *yavas* of poison. Unless the loss of the accuser amounts to a thousand pieces of silver, he must not be tried by the spear-head, nor by poison, nor by balance; but if the offence be against the king or if the crime is heinous, he must acquit himself by one of these trials in all cases" (*Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*, II, 95-99). Yājñavalkya thus appears to have known six forms of the ordeals, *viz.*, (1) Balance, (2) Fire, (3) Water, (4) Poison, (5) *Kośa* and (6) Spear-head.

The existence of trial by ordeals in Indian courts in the 7th century A.D., *i.e.*, some time after Yājñavalkya, is

¹ This form of ordeal seems to have been largely used in Bengal. It can be faintly traced in the allegations of rustic girls of Bengal even at the present time. Swearing before five learned Brāhmanas is also mentioned by al-Birūnī (*Sechen*, op. cit., II, pp. 128-30). On one occasion a man is known to have taken an oath on the feet of the Marathā Ling Sāhu Chattrapati. "Then Bhikṣāḥ Harjās said that the Mahārāṣṭra's feet were the Egypt to him and that he would take an oath on his feet. Accordingly he swore that the woman in the aforesaid *manjā* belonged to him and that Kānta was a *Phalraṭh* (*Mirāṭh*) peasant. Within a day or two of this oath, Bhikṣāḥ Galkwaḡ got Cholera; he had to be carried back to the village on the back of a bullock and there he died after a month in consequence of that false oath taken on his behalf." See S. N. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, 2nd ed., p. 363.

evidenced by the accounts left by Yuan Chwang who travelled in India from 629 to 645 A.D. Ordeals by water, fire, weightment or poison are said to have been much esteemed as efficient instruments for the ascertainment of truth, and are described with approval by the Chinese pilgrim (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 172). The six principal ordeals, viz., poison, water, image-water, balance, hot-coin and spear-head, are also described by the celebrated Mahomedan savant, al-Bīrūnī, who wrote his book on India in the second quarter of the eleventh century (Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, II, pp. 158-60).

The fully developed form of the system of trial by ordeals, however, can be found in the works of later writers on law, such as Brhaspati, Viṣṇūśeṣvara and others. According to the *Divyatatva* (XIX, 4) of Brhaspati who seems to have lived about the 7th century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 280), there are nine different forms of ordeals. They are :

Dhaṭo = gnir = udakañ = c = āica viṣaṃ kośaś = ca pañcamam |
Ṣaṣṭhañ = ca taṇḍulāḥ proktaṃ saplamam tapta-māśakam ||
Aṣṭamaṃ phalam = ity = uktaṃ navamaṃ dharmajaṃ smṛtam ||

I. *Dhaṭa-divya* or *Tulā-divya*, i.e., Ordeal by Balance.

The beam having been previously adjusted, the cord fixed and the scales made perfectly even, the accused person and a Brāhmana judge (*prāḍvīṇaka*) fast a whole day. Then, after the accused has been propitiated with *homa* and deities have been worshipped, the person is weighed. When he is taken out of the scale, the *prāḍvīṇaka* prostrates before the balance, pronounces some *mantras* and having written the substance of the accusation on a *lipi-patra*, binds it on the head of the accused. After reciting some more *mantras*, the judge puts the man again on the

scale. If he weighs more than before, he is guilty¹; if less, innocent; and if exactly the same, he is held partially guilty. In case of doubt, the accused must be weighed again; but if any part of the balance—though well fixed—breaks down, it will be considered as proving his guilt (*Sabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *tulā*).

II. *Agnī-divya*, i.e., Ordeal by Fire.

In performing the fire-ordeal, an excavation nine cubits long, two spans broad and one span deep is made in the ground and filled with a fire of Pippala wood. Into this fire the accused person must walk bare-footed; if his feet are unburnt he is innocent, otherwise guilty (*As. Res.*, I, p. 390).

III. *Jala-divya* or Ordeal by Water.

In the water-ordeal, the accused should be caused to stand in a depth of water sufficient to reach his navel; but care should be taken that no ravenous animal be in it and that it is not moved by much air. A Brāhmaṇa is then directed to go into the water with a staff in his hand, and a soldier shoots three arrows on dry ground from a cane bow. A man is then despatched to bring the arrows that has been shot farthest, and, after he has taken it up, another man is also ordered to run from the edge of the water. At this moment, the person accused is ordered to grasp the foot or the staff of the Brāhmaṇa who stands by him in the water, and immediately to dive into it. He must remain under water till the two men who were sent to fetch the arrows return. If he raises his body or head above the

¹ Al-Bīrūnī says (*op. cit.*, p. 139). "In case he has spoken the truth, he now weighs more than the first time." We are not definite whether this is wrong or is based upon a local practice. Yuan Chwang also says, "The accused is weighed against a stone; and if the latter is lighter the charge is false, if otherwise it is true."

surface of the water before the arrows are brought back, his guilt is proved¹ (*ibid.*, pp. 390-91). The water ordeal is mentioned in the *Padmāvatyaśādhana* of the *Bodhisattvādānakalpalatā* (S. N. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 573).

IV. *Viṣa-dīcya* or Ordeal by Poison.

The poison-ordeal was performed in two different ways:

(a) After the *homa* is performed, and the accused person is bathed, 2½ *ratīs* or 7 *yauas* of *viṣanāga* (a poisonous root) or of *śaṅkhya*² (i.e., white arsenic) are mixed with 8 *māṣas* or 64 *ratīs* of clarified butter which the accused should take from the hands of a Brāhmana. If the poison is visibly effective, the man is condemned; if not, absolved.

(b) A hooded snake, called *nāga*, is thrown into an earthen pot into which is also dropped a ring, seal or coin. The accused person is then ordered to take it out with his hand. If the serpent does not bite him, he is proved innocent; otherwise, he is pronounced guilty (*As. Res.*, I, p. 391).

Yuan Chwang seems to refer to a third variety of this ordeal when he says, "The poison ordeal requires that the right hind leg of a ram be cut off, and according to the portion assigned to the accused to eat, poisons are put into the leg, and if the man is innocent he survives, and if not the poison takes effect" (*Watters, loc. cit.*).

¹ Trial by ordeal existed also in ancient Babylonia as is evidenced by the Code of Hammurabi who, according to Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*, 7th ed., p. 211), ruled from circa 2123 to 2080 B.C. The Code which seems to have been based on ancient Sumerian laws takes cognizance of a form of the water-ordeal. It was used when a man was accused of sorcery and a woman of adultery without sufficient evidence. In both cases the accused were to leap into the river, and their innocence was established if they came out alive (see *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, I, xiv).

² Hindi *Śaṅkhiṣā*; Bengali *śāṅkhiṣā*. According to al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.*, p. 189) the herb (poison) which the accused person was invited to drink was called *brahmana*. This may be a mistransliteration for *Vipa-wāga*.

V. *Kośa-divya* or Ordeal by "Image-Washed" Water.

The *Kośa-divya* is performed in the following way. The accused person is made to drink three draughts of water into which images of the sun, the Devī and other deities have been washed for the purpose. If the man has any sickness or indisposition within 14 days after taking the draughts, his crime is considered to be proved (*ibid.*, p. 391). Al-Bīrūnī says (*op. cit.*, p. 159) that the accused is taken to the temple of the most venerated idol of the town or realm and that the priests pour water over the idol of the town and give it to the accused to drink. The accused, according to him, vomits blood, in case he is guilty.

VI. *Taṇḍula-divya* or Ordeal by Rice.¹

The rice-ordeal is generally applied to persons suspected of theft. Some dry rice is weighed with the Śālagrām or some *mantras* are recited over it, and the suspected persons are severally asked to chew a quantity of it. As soon as it is done, they are ordered to throw it on some leaves of the Pippala tree or on some *bhūrjapatra* (bark of a tree from Nepāl or Kāśmīr). The man from whose mouth rice comes dry or stained with blood, is pronounced guilty and the rest innocent (*ibid.*, pp. 391-92). For two cases of the *Taṇḍula-divya*, the first in connection with payment of money and the second with reference to a boundary question, see Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, etc., p. 177.

VII. *Tapta-māṣaka-divya* or Ordeal by the Hot *Māṣaka* Coin.

In performing this ordeal, the appointed ground is cleared and rubbed with cowdung. The next day at sunrise, after the worship of Gaṇeśa and other deities is done, the *prāḍvicāka*, having recited some *mantras*, places a round

¹ Cf. *Cāl-pard* of rural Bengal.

pan of gold, silver, copper, iron or clay, with a diameter of 12 inches and depth of 3 inches, and throws into it one seer or 80 *siccā* weight of clarified butter or oil of sesamum.¹ After this, a *māṣakī* coin is thrown into the pan, or alternatively a ring of gold or silver or iron is cleaned and cast into the oil which some Brāhmaṇas proceed to heat. When the thing in the pan is very hot, they throw a fresh leaf of Pippala or Bilva into it ; if the leaf is burnt, the thing is taken to be sufficiently hot. Then after reciting a *mantra*, the *prāḍvivāka* orders the accused person to take the coin or ring out of the pan. If he can do this without his fingers being burnt or blistered, he is considered not-guilty ; otherwise guilty² (*As. Res.*, I, p. 392 ; see also Pītāmaha quoted in the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, II, 113, and Alberānī's *India*, II, pp. 159-60). For cases of this ordeal in records of A.D. 1580 and 1677, see S. N. Sen, *loc. cit.*

VIII. *Phāla-divya* or Ordeal by Spear-Head.

In performing the *phāla-divya*, the Brāhmaṇas, after due worship of Gaṇeśa, draw nine circles on the ground with cowdung at intervals of 12 inches, each of which circles should have 12 inches as diameter except the ninth which may be smaller or bigger than the rest. Then the *homa* is performed, gods are worshipped and some *mantras* are recited. The accused person then performs ablutions and, wearing wet clothes and facing towards the east, stands in the first circle with his hands on his girdle. After this, the *prāḍvivāka* and the Brāhmaṇas order him to rub some unhusked rice between his palms which they carefully inspect.

¹ Twenty *palas* of ghee and oil, according to Pītāmaha.

² Even in the 13th century A.D. the real trial in England was by the ordeal of water, failing to get through which the accused was condemned. The English water ordeal was however more akin to the *topa māṣakī dips* of the ancient Indian Penal Code. "The accused had to dip one hand into boiling water and take out a stone from the bottom of the vessel. The hand was then tied up for a time (usually seven days), and if, when the bandages were taken off, it was found to be healed, the man was held acquitted" (Warner & Marten, *Groundwork of British History*, p. 79).

If any scar of a former wound, mole or any other mark appears on his palms, they stain it with a dye, so that it may be distinguished from any new mark after trial. The accused is then ordered to hold both his hands open and close together. Having, then, put into his hands seven leaves of the trembling tree or Pippala, seven of the *samī* or *jend*, seven blades of the *darbha* grass, a little barley moistened with curd and a few flowers, they tie the leaves on the hands with seven threads of raw cotton. Some *mantras* are then recited by the Brāhmanas who next write a statement of the case and the point in issue on a palmyra leaf together with the appointed *mantra*, and tie the leaf on the head of the accused person. Then they heat an iron-ball or a spear-head, weighing about five pounds, and throw it into water: they heat it again, and again cool it in the same way. The third time they heat the iron till it is red-hot. Next, the Brāhmanas, after reciting the *mantras*, take the red-hot iron with tongs and place it in the hands of the accused who is standing in the first circle. He must then gradually step from circle to circle, his feet being constantly in one of them. After reaching the eighth circle, he must throw the iron in the ninth to burn some grass which must be left there for that purpose. He is thereafter ordered to rub some unhusked rice between both his palms; if, on examination, any mark of burning appears on either of the palms, he is considered guilty; if no such marks appear, his innocence is proved (*As. Res.*, I, p. 392). For a case of grasping a red-hot iron in a record of 1309 A.D. in the presence of the god Hoysalesvara, see S. N. Sen, *loc. cit.*; see also *Alberūnī's India*, II, p. 160.

IX. *Dharmaja-* or *Dharm-ādharma-divya*, i.e., Ordeal by (the images of) Dharma and Adharma.

In performing the image-ordeal (or *Dharm-ādharma* ordeal), two processes may be followed.

(a) An image named Dharma is made of silver, and another called Adharma of clay or iron.¹ Both of these images are thrown into a big earthen jar. If the accused can bring the image of Dharma out of the jar after thrusting his hand into it, he is considered innocent ; but if he brings out the image of Adharma, he is condemned.

(b) An image is drawn on a piece of white cloth and another on a piece of black cloth. The first is called Dharma and the second Adharma.² These are severally rolled up in cowdung³ and thrown into a large jar, without being overseen by the accused. The accused is then ordered to bring out one of these rolls. If he brings out the figure on white cloth, he is acquitted ; if that on the black cloth, convicted (*ibid.*, p. 392 ; see also *Pitāmaha* quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya*, II, 113).

Certain months and days are specified for the different species of ordeals. There are also other injunctions in the *Smṛti* literature ; but the law-givers are not unanimous on these points. It is not necessary to notice these in detail. We simply quote⁴ a passage from 'Ali Ibrāhīm Khān (*op. cit.*, p. 393), where we find the tradition based on *Vijñāneśvara's Mitākṣarā* and followed in the Benares region about the end of the eighteenth century.

"Agrahāyana, Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra for that of fire ; Āśvina, Kārttika, Jyaiṣṭha and Āṣāḍha for that by water ; Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna for that by poison ; and regularly there should be no water ordeal on the Aṣṭamī or eighth, Caturdaśī or fourteenth day of the new or full moon, in the intercalary month, in the

¹ Lead or iron, according to *Pitāmaha*.

² According to *Pitāmaha*, "A Dharma in white and an Adharma in black are to be drawn either on the *bhāṛja* or cloth."

³ Cowdung or clay, according to *Pitāmaha*.

⁴ We use our method of transliteration.

month of Bhādra, on Śanaiścara or Saturday, and on Maṅgala or Tuesday ; but whenever a magistrate decides that there shall be an ordeal, the regular appointment of months and days need not be regarded.

"The *Mitākṣarā* contains also the following distinctions. In cases of theft or fraud to the amount of a hundred gold *mohurs*, the trial by poison is proper ; if eighty *mohurs* be stolen, the suspected person may be tried by fire ; if forty, by the balance ; if from thirty to ten, by the image-water ; if two only, by rice."

As has been already noticed, differences in the views of different law-givers appear to us to be due to differences in their time and place. A few instances will possibly enable our readers to understand the point clearly.

(a) One of the most glaring instances of such differences may be seen in the views of Brhaspati on the eighth form of the nine *divyas*, namely, the *phāla-divya*. According to Brhaspati, "A piece of iron, eight *aṅgulis* in length, four *aṅgulis* in breadth and weighing twelve *palas*, is called a *phāla* ; when the *phāla* is red-hot (*agṇi-varṇa*), the thief (here, stealer of a cow) must once lave it with the tongue ; if (the tongue) is not burnt, he is held innocent ; if otherwise, convicted." The passage *go-caurasya pradātavyam tapta-phāl-ācalehanam = iti smṛtir = iti maitihilāḥ* (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *phālam*) possibly goes to show that this form of the *phāla-divya* was very popular in North Bihar and that Brhaspati lived not very far from the Mithilā region. This form of the ordeal seems to have been unknown in South India.¹ The licking form of the *phāla-divya* is mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Watters, *loc. cit.*), who however describes it as a fire-ordeal.

¹ Difference in the practice of the *phāla-divya* is also evidenced by the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣat* where the thing to be heated is said to have been a *parśa*, i.e., ३१९.

(b) A local variety of the third ordeal, namely *jaladivya*, has been thus noticed by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān: "In the villages near Benares, it is the practice for the person, who is to be tried by this kind of ordeal, to stand in water up to his navel, and then holding the foot of a Brāhmaṇa, to dive under it as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently. If, before the man has walked thus far, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted" (*op. cit.*, p. 393).

Al-Bīrūnī possibly refers to a slightly different custom when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 159), "They bring the man to a deep and rapidly flowing river, or to a deep well with much water Then five men take him between them and throw him into the water. If he has spoken the truth, he will not drown and die."

According to Yuan Chwang (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 172), the accused was put in one sack and a stone in another, then the two sacks were connected and thrown into a deep stream; if the sack containing the stone floated and the other sank, the man's guilt was proved.

A different form of the *jala-divya* was prevalent in the Marāṭhā country. "The parties and the Pandhars were sent to a sacred river like the Kṛishṇa, or better, to a *saṅgama* of special sanctity like the Kṛishṇa-Veṇā Saṅgama. There, at an auspicious moment, the Pandhars stood on the bank after their bath in the sacred stream, the defendant and the plaintiff still remaining standing in the river. Either the Patel or some other trustworthy man there present was then ordered to draw the rightful party from the water and pass a conscientious verdict" (Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 365).

(c) Another glaring instance is in connection with the question whether ordeals should be applied to women. According to Nārada, who seems to have lived in Nepāl about the 5th century A.D. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 280), women cannot be tried by ordeals (*strīṇāñca na bhaved = divyam*). But

another law-giver, Sūlapāṇi, says that this prohibition refers to *divyas* other than the *tulā-divya*, and we have already seen that Yājñavalkya prescribes trial by the balance ordeal for women. There is also a view that in connection with a quarrel between a man and a woman, the latter should undergo ordeals (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *parikṣā*).

The application of ordeals to women appears to be supported by the Rāmāyaṇic story of Sītā undergoing the fire-ordeal in order to prove that her chastity was not violated by Rāvaṇa during her confinement in Laṅkā, and also by some epigraphic references. Some records (e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 248) say that Candaladevī (Candrike or Candrikādevī), wife of Lakṣmīdeva I (c. A.D. 1209), the Raṭṭa king of Saudatti, "attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar"; the allusion here is certainly to the queen having undergone trial by the poison-ordeal (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 556 and note 5).

It is evidenced by some old Bengali works that, in Bengal also, the purity of wives was sometimes examined by ordeals. Thus, Khullanā, heroine of Kavikaṅkaṇ Mukundarām's *Caṇḍikāvyā* (about Śaka 1499=A.D. 1577) is reported to have undergone successfully four ordeals, the first three of which are in reality the water, poison and spear-head ordeals (see D. C. Sen, *Bāṅgabhāṣā-o-Sāhitya*, 4th ed., p. 371). It is also stated that Khulhanā was put into a *jatu-grha* made specially for the purpose of testing her chastity, and then it was set fire to. This form of the fire-ordeal is however unknown to the Smṛti literature. But the description of the *Caṇḍikāvyā* seems to be more or less conventional. It is therefore not certain whether these ordeals were actually prevalent in Bengal in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D. Behulā (Sanskrit : *Vipulā*), the famous heroine of the *Manasā-maṅgal* story, is also said to have proved her purity by undergoing with success several of the ordeals (*Pravāsī*, Kārtik, 1333 B.S., p. 67).

From the above references we see that the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeals is not only proved by the Smṛti literature, but can also be proved from references to the practice in inscriptions and other writings. For inscriptional references, we refer our readers to *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 294; XV, p. 394; and *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 556 and note 5, 571 and note 3. Here we quote three instances of trial by ordeal, one from an inscription and two from the paper of 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān who claims to have been an eye-witness of the trials:

I. In the Kaliyuga year 4289 (A.D. 1188) and the 15th year of the Goa Kadamba king Vīra-Jayakeśideva III "on Sunday, the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in presence of the fortunate prime-minister, Īśvarārya Daṇḍanāyaka, Śivaśakti, the *ācārya* (priest) of the god Śrī-Kalleśvaradeva of the well called Attibāvi at Kittūr, and Kalyāṇaśakti, the *ācārya* of the original local deity of that place (Mūlasthānadeva), opened a subject of dispute, the former asserting that a plot of ground in that place, called Ālakolaṇakeyi, had from of old belonged to Kalleśvaradeva, while the latter claimed it for the original local deity (Mūlasthānadeva).

"The agreement that they both of their own free-will entered into at the presence of the same Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka was this: Śivaśakti said, 'Whereas this plot of ground (called) Ālakolaṇakeyi belonged of old to Kalleśvaradeva, Devarāśi, the father of Kalyāṇaśakti, unauthorisedly brought it under cultivation under the Caṇḍe state and had a grant written in his own favour; and I am now prepared to undergo the *phāla-dieya* in support of my statement that it had belonged from ancient times to Kalleśvaradeva.' (On the other hand), the argument of Kalyāṇaśakti under oath with the sacred symbols on his head was, if the Caṇḍe Samsthāna gave this plot of ground (called) Ālakolaṇakeyi to my father Devarāśi and to myself on behalf of the original

local deity (Mūlasthānadeva), it has not been unauthorisedly brought under cultivation.'

"Īśvara Daṇḍanāyaka then said, 'Go both of you before the assemblage of the bankers of the village of Degāve, which has been granted in perpetuity to Brāhmanas; and on their assenting to this, on Sunday, the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the same year, in the presence of all the bankers of the *agrahāra* village Degāve and in front of the temple of Mallikārjunadeva of that place, Śivaśakti, undergoing the ordeal of *phāla-dīṭya*, made oath that the piece of land (called) Ālakolaṇakeyi belonged of old to the god Kalleśvara of Attibāvi; while Kalyāṇaśakti, taking the sacred symbols on his head (or standing on his head!), declared that it was the property of the original local deity (Mūlasthānadeva). After this, on Monday, the eighth day of the same dark fortnight, all the bankers of the *agrahāra* village Degāve having convened themselves in the assembly-hall and having examined the hand of Śivaśakti, decided that he had won his cause, and that Kalyāṇaśakti who had taken the sacred symbols on his head had lost it, and that the plot of ground called Ālakolaṇakeyi belongs to the god Kalleśvara of Attibāvi, and gave a certificate of success to Śivaśakti'" (Kittūr inscription, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 307-09).

II. "In the year of the Messiah 1783, a man was tried by the hot-ball (*phala-dīṭya*) at Benares in the presence of me, 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, on the following occasion. A man had accused one Śaṅkar of larceny, who pleaded that he was not guilty; as the theft could not be proved by legal evidence, the trial by the fire-ordeal was tendered to the appellee and accepted by him. This well-wisher of mankind advised the learned magistrates and Pandits to prevent the decision of a question by a mode not conformable to the practice of the Company's Government, and recommended an oath by the water of the Ganges and the leaves of the

tulasī in a little vessel of brass (copper ?) or by the hook *Hariraṃṭā*, or by the stone *Śālagrām*, or by the hallowed ponds or basins, all which oaths are used in Benares. When the parties obstinately refused to try the issue by any one of the modes recommended and insisted on a trial by the hot-ball, the magistrates and Paṇḍits of the court were ordered to gratify their wishes and, setting aside those forms of trial in which there could be only a distant fear of death or loss of property as the just punishment of perjury by the sure yet slow judgment of heaven, to perform the ceremony of ordeal agreeably to the *Dharmaśāstra* : but it was not till after mature deliberation for four months that a regular mandate was issued for trial by the red-hot ball; and this was at length granted for four reasons : first, because there was no other way of condemning or absolving the person accused; secondly, because both parties were Hindus and this mode of trial was specially appointed in the *Dharmaśāstra* by the ancient law-givers; thirdly, because this ordeal was practised in the dominions of the Hindu Rājās¹; and fourthly, because it might be useful to inquire how it was possible for the heat of fire to be resisted and for the hand that held it to avoid being burned. An order was accordingly sent to the Paṇḍits of the courts and of Benares to this effect : ' Since the parties accusing and accused are both Hindus and will not consent to any trial

¹ A case of the same ordeal (described as *agni-dīpa* according to the system of Nārada) has been quoted by Prof. S. N. Sen (*op. cit.*, pp. 577-78) from a Marāṭhī document : " On Wednesday, my hands were bandaged. The next day, the aforesaid Paṇḍit sat . . . on the banks of the Godāvarī, opened the bandage of my hands in the presence of the god and had them rubbed with rice The signs on the two hands were all marked, and one iron-ball, 50 *palas* or 168 *tolā*s, 2 *maṭas*, was duly weighed and thrice heated in fire. They bound a *khayya-patra* on my forehead, placed seven *śantāla* leaves on my hands and bound them with thread. Then they placed the ball on my head and ordered me to walk over seven circles and drop the ball in the eighth dropped the ball on some grains which had been kept in the appointed place and the grains took fire," etc. The accused person in this case came out successful through the ordeal.

but that by the hot-ball, let the ordeal desired be duly performed in the manner prescribed by the *Mitākṣarā* or Commentary on Yājñavalkya.

“When preparations were made for the trial, this well-wisher to mankind, attended by all the learned professors, by the officers of the court, the *sipāhīs* of Captain Hogan's battalion and many inhabitants of Benares, went to the place prepared, and endeavoured to dissuade the appellor from requiring the accused to be tried by fire, adding, ‘if his hand be not burned, you shall certainly be imprisoned.’ The accuser, not deterred by this menace, persisted in demanding the trial. The ceremony, therefore, was thus conducted before me, ‘Alī Ibrāhīm Khān.

“The Pandits of the court and the city, having worshipped the god of knowledge and presented their oblation of clarified butter to the fire, formed nine circles of cow-dung on the ground; and, having bathed the appellee in the Ganges, brought him with his clothes wet; when, to remove all suspicion of deceit, they washed his hands with pure water: then, having written a statement of the case and the words of the *mantra* on a palmyra leaf, they tied it on his head; and into his hands, which they opened and joined together, seven leaves of Pippala, seven of Jend, seven blades of the *darbha* grass, a few flowers and some barley moistened with curd, which they fastened with raw white cotton. After this they made the iron-ball red-hot and, taking it up with tongs, placed it in his hands. He walked with it, step by step, the space of three *gaz* and a half through each of the seven intermediate rings, and threw the ball into the ninth where it burned the grass that had been left in it. He next, to prove his veracity, rubbed some rice in the husk between his hands, which were afterwards examined and were so far from being burned that not even a blister was raised on either of them. Since it is the nature of fire to burn, the officers of the court and the people

of Benares, nearly five hundred of whom attended the ceremony, were astonished at the event; and this well-wisher to mankind was perfectly amazed. It occurred to his weak apprehension that probably the fresh leaves and other things which, as it has been mentioned, were placed in the hands of the accused, had prevented their being burned; besides that the time was but short between his taking the ball and throwing it down; yet it is positively declared in the *Dharmaśāstra* and in the written opinion of the most respectable Pandits that the hand of a man who speaks truth cannot be burned; and 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān certainly saw with his own eyes, as many others also saw with theirs, that the hands of the appellee in this case were unhurt by the fire. He was consequently discharged. But that men might in future be deterred from demanding the trial by ordeal, the appellor was committed for a week. After all, if such a trial could be seen once or twice by several intelligent men acquainted with natural philosophy, they might be able to assign the true reason why a man's hand may be burned in some cases and not in others "' (*As. Res.*, 1,

¹ In connection with the above remark it may be interesting to note what Edwin Edser writes about the "Spheroidal State,"

"Expt. 52."

"Expt. 53. The above experiments illustrate what is called the Spheroidal State of water. A laundress generally tests the temperature of her iron by observing whether it is sufficient to cause a drop of saliva to assume the Spheroidal State. Jugglers were formerly in the habit of plunging their hands into molten lead, their immunity from burning depending on the moisture on their hands assuming the Spheroidal State. Blacks-skins will often lick a bar of red-hot iron. In early times, a common form of ordeal was to walk on red-hot ploughshares. Many who come through this ordeal triumphantly must have ascribed to supernatural intervention an occurrence which was strictly in accordance with natural law.

"Water is not the only substance which can assume the Spheroidal State. All liquids will do so if placed on a metal surface that is sufficiently hot. If a mixture of solid carbolic acid and ether is poured into a red-hot platinum crucible, it will assume the Spheroidal State. If mercury is poured on to the mixture, it will be frozen though the platinum dish remains red-hot"—See *Heat for Advanced Students* (Macmillan & Co., 1928), pp. 165-66.

pp. 395-98). For another instance of the *phala-divya*, see B. V. Bhat, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

III. "A Brāhmaṇa named Rṣīśvara Bhaṭṭa accused one Rāmdayāl, a linen-painter, of having stolen his goods. Rāmdayāl pleaded not guilty ; and after much altercation, consented to be tried, as it had been proposed, by the vessel of oil (*tapta-māṣaka-divya*). This well-wisher to mankind advised the Paṇḍits of the court to prevent, if possible, that mode of trial ; but since the parties insisted on it, an ordeal of hot oil, according to the *Sāstra*, was awarded for the same reasons which prevailed in regard to the trial by the ball. The Paṇḍits who assisted in the ceremony were Bhīṣma Bhaṭṭa, Nānā Pāṭhak, Manirām Bhaṭṭa, Śiva, Anantarām Bhaṭṭa, Kṛpārām, Viṣṇuhari, Kṛṣṇacandra, Rāmendrarām, Govindarām, Harikṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Kālidās ; the three last were Paṇḍits of the court. When Gaṇeśa had been worshipped and the *homa* presented according to the *Sāstra*, they sent for this well-wisher to mankind who, attended by the two Dāroghās of the Divānī and Faujdārī courts, the Kotwāl of the town, the officers of the court and most of the inhabitants of Benares, went to the place of trial, where he laboured to dissuade Rāmdayāl and his father from submitting to the ordeal ; and apprised them that, if the hands of the accused should be burned, he would be compelled to pay the value of the goods stolen, and his character would be disgraced in every company. Rāmdayāl would not desist ; he thrust his hand into the vessel and was burned.¹ The opinion of the Paṇḍits was then taken, and they were unanimous that by the burning of his hand, his guilt was established and he was bound to pay Rṣīśvara Bhaṭṭa the price of what he had stolen ; but if the sum exceeded five hundred *ashrafīs*, his hand must be cut off

¹ The boldness and persistence possibly show that poor Rāmdayāl was actually innocent.

by an express law of the *Śāstra* ; and a mulct also must be imposed on him according to his circumstances.

"The chief magistrate, therefore, caused Rāmdayāl to pay Rājīvara seven hundred rupees in return for the goods which had been stolen ; but as amercements in such cases are usual at the courts of judicature at Benares, the mulct was remitted, and the prisoner was discharged.

"The record of this conviction was transmitted to Calcutta in the year of Messiah 1783 ; and in the month of April, 1784, the Governor-General, Imād-ud-daulah Jelādat Jang Bahādur,¹ having seen the preceding account of trials by ordeals, put many questions concerning the meaning of Sanskrit words, and the cases here reported, to which he received respectful answers" (*ibid.*, pp. 399-400).

The judgment of a case of the *tapta-māṣaka* ordeal (described as *agni-divya*) has been quoted by Prof. S. N. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-67 : "You were then sent with Rājāśrī Āpājī Hanumant Subhedār and Bālājī Dādājī and Baghojī Raut, officers from the Huzur and the District, to Pali for the performance of an *agni-divya*. The *got* of that place assembled in the temple and they lighted a fire and heated ghee and oil mixed in customary proportion. You bathed and after a declaration of your right, took two pieces of metal from the heated liquid in the presence of all. Then your hand was bandaged and sealed. The next day the aforesaid parties were brought to the Huzur by the Kārkun of the District officer. On the third day, in the presence of the Majāṣasi, the bandage was taken off and the seals broken. On your hand were found only the marks that formerly existed there. Nothing more, nothing less ; you passed the ordeal successfully."

¹ The same as Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal, 1772-74, Governor-General, 1774-85.

VIII

VAYALUR LIST OF EARLY PALLAVA KINGS

We have already said that the traditional list of early Pallava kings given in some late records is, in our opinion, not much valuable for the purpose of authentic history. All recent writers on Pallava history however have put much faith in the genealogical list given in the Vayalur grant of Rājasimha. The late Mr. H. Krishnasastri said, "It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāsakudi, Udayendiram and Velurpālaiyam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vāyalūr record, but not much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct" (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 147). But this scholar and many others think the Vayalur list historically valuable. There are however reasons to believe that the earlier names of this list are all legendary and unhistorical and that the rest of the list has in it not only the names of a single branch of the Pallava family.

The following is the list of the Pallavas given in the Vayalur record :—

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Brahman. | 7. Aśvātthāman. |
| 2. Aṅgirā. | 8. Pallava. ¹ |
| 3. Brhaspati. | 9. Aśoka. ² |
| 4. Śarpyu. | 10. Harigupta. |
| 5. Bharadvāja. | 11. Bhūtadatta. |
| 6. Droṇa. | 12. Sūryavarman. |

¹ Nos. 1-6 are also mentioned in the Kuram (*S. Ind. Ins.*, I, p. 144 ff.), Udayendiram No. 2 (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273) and Velurpālaiyam plates (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 508). These names are evidently legendary.

² Aśoka is mentioned in the Kāsakudi (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 362) and Velurpālaiyam plates. In the latter inscription he is called Aśokavarman. According to Hultzsch, the name is a modification of Aśoka, the great Maurya king of Pāṭaliputra.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 13. Viṣṇugopa (I). | 32. Skandavarman (II). |
| 14. Ghyṭaka. | 33. Kumāraviṣṇu (II). ¹ |
| 15. Kalinda. | 34. Buddhavarman (II) |
| 16. Jyāmalla. | 35. Skandavarman (III). |
| 17. Ripumalla. | 36. Viṣṇugopa (III). ² |
| 18. Vimāla. | 37. Viṣṇudāsa. |
| 19. Koṅgaṇi. | 38. Skandavarman (IV). |
| 20. Kālabhartā. ³ | 39. Siṃhavarman (I). |
| 21. Cūtapallava. | 40. Vīravarman. |
| 22. Vīrakūrca (I). ⁴ | 41. Skandavarman (V). |
| 23. Candrarvarman. | 42. Siṃhavarman (II). ⁵ |
| 24. Karāla. | 43. Skandavarman (VI). |
| 25. Viṣṇugopa (II). | 44. Nandivarman. ⁶ |
| | 45. Siṃhavarman (III). |
| 26. Skandamūla. | 46. Siṃhavarman (IV). |
| 27. Kāṇagopa. | 47. Viṣṇugopa (IV). |
| 28. Vīrakūrca (II). ⁷ | 48. Siṃhavarman (V). |
| 29. Skandavarman (I). | 49. Siṃhaviṣṇu. |
| 30. Kumāraviṣṇu (I). | 50. Mahendravarman ⁸ ; |
| 31. Buddhavarman (I). | etc., etc., |

¹ There is no proof that Nos. 10-30 were historical persons.

² He was possibly the first king of the family.

³ The Velurpalaiyam record appears to identify Vīrakūrca I (No. 23) with Vīrakūrca II (No. 28). This fact possibly shows that Nos. 23-27 are unhistorical. May Vīrakūrca (II) be identical with Vīrakūrcavarman of the Darai plate?

⁴ This Kumāraviṣṇu II issued the Chendalur grant.

⁵ This Viṣṇugopa may have been the contemporary of Samudragupta. On palaeographical grounds however the contemporary of Samudragupta (circa 330-75) cannot be placed after the issuer of the Chendalur grant.

⁶ Possibly the king mentioned in the Penakonda plates of about A.D. 475. According to the *Lekṣyābhāṣa*, he ruled from 436 to about 458 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 331 ff.). Nos. 40-42 are found consecutively in the genealogy of the Pallavas of the Nalluru-Guntur region; see Nos. 4-6 at page 374 above.

⁷ He possibly issued the Udayandiram grant No. 1.

⁸ He ascended the throne about 600 A.D.

IX

KĀVYA STYLE IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

G. Bühler in his famous article entitled *The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* (translated from German in *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1913) has proved the existence of a Kāvya literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of the Christian era and showed that a great period of literature following the style of the poetic school of Vaidarbha (Berar) lies before the middle of the fourth century A.D. The poetic citations in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 326 ff.) by Patañjali (generally placed in the second century B.C., but is probably later), exhibiting metres characteristic of artificial poetry, such as *Mālatī*, *Pramitākṣarā*, *Prāharsinī* and *Vasantatilakā* and many verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* agree fully as regards contents and the mode of expression, with the court Kāvyas.¹ The *Buddhacarita* (translated into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.D.) by Aśvaghoṣa, said to have been a contemporary of Kaniska, also shows a marvellous development of the Kāvya style. The description of the literary capacity of a Śaka prince named Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.) in the Junagadh record as *sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayodār-ālamkṛta-gndya-padya* [**kāvya-vidhāna-praveśā*] which marvellously agrees with the principles of the Vaidarbhī style explained by Daṇḍin (*Kāvyaadarśa*, I, 41-42) and Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XVI), and the prose style of the Junagadh record (150 A.D.) itself and the Nasik inscription of the time of Rudradāman's

¹ It is interesting to note that the famous Nanaghat inscription of Nāganika, which is placed in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C., uses the figurative expression *śagara-girivara-kalayādyā pothariga pothama-cira*, etc.

Sātavāhana contemporary Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi show, according to Bühler (p. 34 note), that "in the second century, there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions; because the author of the Girnar (*i.e.*, Junāgadh) inscription was only an obscure provincial writer and the author of the Nasik inscription was only a court poet of the Andhira (*i.e.*, Sātavāhana) king." Bühler has in this connection examined from *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, some eighteen inscriptions, which are partly or wholly metrical and of definitely known date, including the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta described as a *Kāvya* by its author Hariṣeṇa, the Junagadh inscription of Gupta years 136-38 (456-58 A.D.) described as a *Grantha* and the Mandasor inscription of Mālava year 529 (473-74 A.D.) described as a *Prasasti* by its author Vatsabhaṭṭi. The dates of the records examined fall in the period between 350 and 550 A.D. From the great number of similar inscriptions of the period, Bühler suggested that in the above period "the use of the *Kāvya* style in inscriptions, especially in longer ones, was in vogue and, from this very circumstance, it follows that court poetry was jealously cultivated in India."

It should be noticed that in considering the question Bühler did not take into account the inscriptions of the Vākātakas and other successors of the Sātavāhanas. The reason seems to be that early writers like Bühler and Kielhorn did not think the records of many of these dynasties, *e.g.*, the Vākātika records, to be earlier than the middle of the sixth century A.D. It was therefore easy for Bühler to remark (p. 34 note), "It is however very questionable whether the poetic art had reached in southern India that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life in Northern India." But evidence shows that Bühler's doubts are unjustified. It is true that the Prakrit language, which gradually died out from North Indian inscriptions as early as the beginning of the second

century A.D., lingered on in the records of Southern India as late as the beginning of the fourth century. It is also true that many of the southern inscriptions are written in a matter-of-fact style. But that the Kāvya style was cultivated in Southern India is perfectly established by a number of South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the family of the Kadambas. The poetic genius of the authors of the Junagadh and Nasik inscriptions was certainly inherited by their successors in the Vākāṭaka and Kadamba courts and, patronised by the Calukyas, found in Ravikīrti, rival of Bhāravi and Kālidāsa.

The Vākāṭakas ruled over the greater part of the Deccan before the rise of the Calukyas about the middle of the sixth century. All the Vākāṭaka grants are therefore to be assigned to a period anterior to 550 A.D. Most of their records are however written in elegant Sanskrit prose; but the prose style is not so much artificial as that of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Bühler has rightly remarked, "It was a familiar custom in the fifth century to glorify the erection of temples and other edifices, by means of such occasional composition." The Vākāṭaka records, it should be noted, are ordinary land grants and cannot therefore claim to have been written in the style of *Prāśastis*, *Granthas* or (*Gadya*-) *Kāvyas*. But the prose style of the Vākāṭaka records is as much artificial as that of the contemporary ordinary land grants belonging to the Guptas. We know that Dāṇḍin defines the *ojo-guṇa* as *samāsa-bhūyastva* and describes it as the very life of artificial prose (*ojaḥ samāsa-bhūyastvam = etad = gadyasya jīvitam*; *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 70). This *ojaḥ* is characteristic of the prose style of the Vākāṭaka records. The Chammak, Dudia and other records describe the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I in a phrase containing no less than thirty-six syllables. The Bhārasiya relatives of the Vākāṭakas are described in several inscriptions as *aṃśa-bhāra-sanniveśita-śivaling-odvahana-śica-supari-*

tuṣṭa-samutpādita-rājapaṃśānām parākram-ādhigata-bhāgi-rathy-amala-jala-mūrdh-ābhīśiktānām daś-āśvamedh-āva-bhṛtha-snānānām (33+21+11 syllables). The plurality of adjectival phrases, reference to epic characters in passages like *yudhiṣṭhira-ṛtī* and the length of sentences in these records exhibit the artificial nature of the style. It should also be noted that verses are sometimes found in the prose inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The seal of the Dudia plates of *Prabhāvatīguptā*, for example, has the following verse in *anuṣṭubh* metre and *Vaidarbhī* style :

*Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya krama-prāpta-nṛpa-śriyaḥ,
Jananyā yuvarājasya śāsanam ripuśāsanam.*

The figures of speech exhibited by this verse are *Anu-prāsa* and *Yamaka*. Records like the Ajanta inscription of the Vākāṭaka king *Harīṣeṇa* are wholly metrical and show that the poetic genius of the Vākāṭaka court poets was of no mean order. This record is fragmentary ; but the existing *pādas* show that many metres characteristic of artificial poetry were used by the poet. *Pādas* like *purandar-opendra-sama-prabhāvaḥ svabāhu-vīry-ārjita-sarga-lokaḥ ; pravarasenaḥ pṛthu-pīna-vakṣaḥ saroruh-ākṣaḥ kṣapit-āri-pakṣaḥ ;* etc.; and the only existing complete verse ¹

*Ari-narendra-mauli-vinyasta-maṇi-kirāṇa-līdha-
kram-āmbujaḥ,
Pravarasenaḥ = tasya putro = 'bhūd = vikaśan-narendīvar-
ekṣaṇaḥ*

prove that the author of the Ajanta record tried to show his skill in the *Kāvya* style. Repetition of the hard sound *kṣa* in

¹ Kielhorn is inclined to describe the metre of this verse as a species of *mātrā-samaka* ; but Dr. Venkatesubbia takes it to be a variety of *gīṭikā* (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 114). This metre with slight variation is found in lines 1-2 of the *Tuxem* inscription (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 270), verses 1-24 of the *Talagunda* record and at p. 4 of the *Bower MSB*. In the 5th-7th centuries the metre seems to have been in use in different parts of India.

the line *pravarasena*, etc., shows that the poet preferred the Gaudīya-rīti of poetry to the Vaidarbhī.¹

The earliest records of the successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan are written in Prākṛit prose. That the influence of the Sātavāhana court poets was still working on their successors in South Indian courts is proved by the artificial style exhibited by some of the Ikṣvāku records discovered at Nagarjunikonda. The artificial nature of the style of the Ikṣvāku court poets is shown not only by the *ojo-guṇa* and the length of sentences in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, but also by the mode of glorifying the Buddha and the reigning king's ancestor with a large number of epithets, some of which exhibit figures of speech characteristic of the Kāvya style. Most of the Nagarjunikonda records begin with an adoration to Lord Buddha—*namo bhagavato deva-rāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savaṃhuno sava-sat-ānukampakasa jita-rāja-dosa-moha-vipamulasa mahāgaṇi-śaśabha-gaṇḍhahathisa sammasabudhasa dhātuvāra-parigahitasa*. In one of these records, the adoration is—*namo bhagavato ikhāku-rāja-pravarar-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṃsa-bhāpasa deva-mānava-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosasa dapita-māra-dapa-māna-pasamana-karasa dasabala-mahabalasa aṭhaṃga-maga-dhamacaka-patatasa caka-lakṣaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-carāṇasa taruṇa-divasakara-pabhasa sarada-sasi-sama-darisanasa sava-loka-cita-mahitasa budhasa* (4 + 20 + 19 + 19 + 18 + 9 + 14 + 16 + 11 + 12 + 10 syllables). At least the figurative expressions *taruna-divasakara-pabha* and *sarada-sasi-sama-darisana* are conceived quite in the Kāvya style. But such is not only the case with the adoration; the earlier king, Cāpṭamūla I, is generally glorified in his son's and grandson's records as *virāpākha-*

¹ Development of the Kāvya style in the Vākaṭaka period is also evidenced by the existence of a Prākṛit poem entitled *Setubandha* described by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* as composed by Pravarasena who has been identified with the Vākaṭaka king Pravarasena II.

pati-mahāsena-parigahitasa agihot-āgiṭhoma-vājapey-āsamedha-yājisa hiraṇakoṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatikata-saṃkapasa vāsīṭhīputasa ikhākusa siri-cāmtamālasa (16+17+22, etc., syllables).

The early Sanskrit records of South-Eastern Deccan are written in prose. They are not composed on special occasions like erection of temples or other edifices and are not to be classed with *Gadyakāvyas*. But that the writers of these records were not unfamiliar with the artificial style of Sanskrit prose is proved by the *ojo-guṇa* of the records. Reference may be made to the description of Mādhavavarman I in the records of the Viṣṇukundin family. The Chikkulla grant describes him with seven epithets, the longest having no less than fifty-five syllables. The longest epithet describing Mādhavavarman I in the Ramatirtham plates contains as many as forty-nine syllables. It is however better to refer to the Ipur and Polamuru grants of Mādhavavarman I himself who ruled in circa 535-85 A.D.

Ipur grant—*smṛti-mati-bala-sattva-dhairya-vīrya-vinaya-saṃpannaḥ sakala-mahimaṇḍala-manujapati-pratipūjita-sāsanaś = trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-yucati-hṛdaya-nandanah svanaya-bala-vijita-sakala-sāmant-ātula-bala-vinaya-naya-niyama-sattva-saṃpannaḥ sakala-jagad-avanipati-pratipūjita-sāsano = 'gniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāji-hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta = ekādaś-āśva-medh-āvabhṛtha-vidhūta-jagat-kalmaṣaḥ susthira-karma-mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmā* (18+21+19+32+18+16+18+14 syllables).

Polamuru grant—*ātula-bala-parākrama-yaśo-dāna-vinaya-saṃpanno daśasata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatir = avasita-vividha-divyas = trivaranagara - bhavana-gata-parama-yucati-jana-viharaṇa - ratir = ananya-nṛpati - sādharmaṇa - dāna-māna-dayā-damadṛti-mati-kṣānti-śaury - audārya - gāmbhīrya - prabhṛty-aneka guṇa-sampaj-janita-roya-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍalavagāpi vipulayaśaḥ kratu-sahasra-yāji hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta = ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaṣkaḥ sarvabhūta-*

parirakṣaṇa-cuñcur = *vidvād-dviḥ-guru-vṛddha-tapasvi-janāśra-
yo mahārājaḥ śrī-mādhavacarmā* (19+16+25+60+7+
8+20+11+15+4+6 syllables).

The Early Kadambas who succeeded the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis in South-Western Deccan in the first half of the 4th century were subdued by the Early Calukyas about the middle of the sixth when the latter established themselves at Badami. Excepting the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman, however, no other early record of the Kadambas can be said to have been composed on special occasions like the inscriptions examined by Bühler. Nevertheless, the small Kadamba records, many of which are wholly or partly metrical, contain in them verses which are specimens of excellent poetry. We give below a collection of the *namaskāra* verses from different records of the Early Kadambas and the reader will see that they would make a *maṅgalācaraṇa* suitable to any work of the best writers of Sanskrit poetry.

*Jayati bhagavān jinendro guṇarundrah prāthita-parama-
kāruṇikah,*

Trailoky-āśvāsakarī dayā-patāk-occhritā yasya.

Jayaty = *arhaṁs* = *trilokeśah sarva-bhūta-hitaṁkaraḥ,*

Rāg-ādy-ari-haro = 'nanto = 'nanta-jñāno-dyū-īśvaraḥ.

*Jayati sur-āsura-makuṇḍa-praṇihita-maṇi-kiraṇa-khacita-
caraṇa-yugaḥ,*

Daṇḍa-kamaṇḍalu-hastah padma-pravar-āsano brahmā.

Jayaty = *udriktā-dāity-endra-bala-vīrya-vimardanaḥ,*

Jagat-praṇṭi-sāmhāra-sṛṣṭi-māyādharo hariḥ.

Jītaṁ bhagavatā tena viṣṇunā yasya rakṣasi,

Śrīḥ svayam bhāti devaś = *ca nābhī-padme pītāmahah,*

Jayaty = *āmbuja-gehāyāḥ patir* = *viṣṇuḥ sanātanaḥ,*

Varāha-rūpeṇa dharāṁ yo dadhāra yuga-kṣaye.

*Jayati viśvadeva-saṃghāta-nicit-aika-mūrtiḥ sanātanah,
Sthānur = indu-raśmi-vicchurita-dyuti-maj-jaṭā-mukuta-
maṇḍanah.*

*Jayati dhruva-bāl-endu-jaṭā-mukuta-maṇḍanah,
Asādhya-nidhanah sambhur = viśveśo jagatām patih.
Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahma-trītayāya namaḥ sadā,
Śūla-cakr-ākṣasūtr-odgha-bhava-bhāsita-pāṇine.*

The first of these verses written in the Āryā metre occurs in several inscriptions, the earliest belonging to the time when Kakusthavarmān was a yuvarāja about the beginning of the fifth century.

When we find such beautiful lines as the following in a small and quite ordinary grant like the Halsi grant of Mṛgeśavarman's eighth year we cannot but think that the Kadamba court poet was a consummate artist :

*Kadamba-kulā-satketor = hetoḥ puṇy-aika-saṃpadām,
Śrī-kākustha-narendrasya sūnur = bhānur = iv = āparah.
Śrī-sāntivaravarm = eti rājā rājīva-locanah,
Khal = eva vanit = ākṛṣṭā yena lakṣmī = deśad-gṛhāt.
Tat-priya-jyeṣṭha-tonayah śrī-mṛgeśa-narādhipah,
Lok-aika-dharma-vijayī deīja-sāmanta-pūjitaḥ.
Matvā dānaṃ daridrāṇāṃ mahāphalam = it = iva yah,
Soḥyaṃ bhaya-daridro = 'pi śatrubhya = 'dān = mahad-
bhayam.*

Tuṅga-gaṅga-kul-otsādī pallava-pralay-ānalah, etc.

To illustrate how the writer of an ordinary small land grant brings in epic characters, we may refer to the Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II.

*Yathā yudhiṣṭhirasy = eva śālāyām yasya santatam,
Brāhmaṇānāṃ sahasrāṇi samaśnāti yathāsukham.
Sa rājā rāja-rājasya pranaptā kṛṣṇavarmayah,
Pautrah śrī-viṣṇudāsasya putrah śrī-simhavarmayah.
Śaśvad-brahmottaram kurvan prajāś = ca paripālayan,
Maḥi-vinihatāmitrah kṛṣṇo jayatu kṛṣṇavat,*

In this connection we should also note that the Banna-halli grant of the same king describes his grandfather Viṣṇuvarman as *gandharva-hastīśikṣā-dhanurvedeṣu vatsarājendr-ārjuna-sama* and *śabd-ārtha-nyāya-vidvat*. We are here to notice not only the reference to epic and historical characters like Vatsarāja, Indra and Arjuna, but also to the fact that Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman claimed to have been skilled in *gandharva* (music), *śabda* (grammar, or the science of words), *ārtha* (their *vācya*, i.e., expressed, *lakṣya*, i.e., indicated, and *vyāṅga*, i.e., suggested import) and *nyāya* (logical method). It is interesting that the poet (*kavi*) Śāba-Virasena, the *saciva* of Candragupta II, describes himself in the Udayagiri cave inscription as skilled in *śabda*, *ārtha*, and *nyāya* (cf. *kautsaḥ śāba iti khyāto virasenah kul-ākhyayā, śabd-ārtha-nyāya-lokajñah'kaviḥ pāṭaliputrakah*). Cf. also, the epithet *pada-padārtha-vicāra-suddha-buddhi* applied to Umāpati Dhara, court-poet of Lakṣmanasena, in the Deopara grant of Vijayasena. Evidently Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman claimed to have been a musician and poet like Samudragupta and his court encouraged artists like that of the Gupta king and of the Saka king Rudradāman.

The metrical portions of Early Kadamba records generally contain fine verses written in the Vaidarbhī style. As it is not possible to quote all of them we satisfy ourselves only with two verses in the Upajāti metre from a little charter of the time of Ravivarman :

*Śrī-ṣiṣṇuvarma-prabhṛtīn = narendrān
 nihatya jītvā pṛthivīm samastām,
 Utsādya kāñc-īśvara-candadayadam
 palāśikāyām samavasṭhitāḥ sah.
 Raviḥ kadamb-oru-kul-āmbarasya
 guṇāṃśubhīr = vyāpya jagat samastam,
 Mānena cateāri nicartanāni
 dadau jīnendrāya mahīm mahendrah.*

The only Early Kadamba inscription that was composed on a special subject is the Talgunda record of Śāntivarman. It describes how a tank was constructed by Kākusthavarman, father of Śāntivarman, for a temple of Śiva. It is written in verse. Verse 34 of the record says that a poet named Kubja was responsible for the composition of the *Kāvya* which the author himself inscribed on stone. The poet cannot be ranked with the best writers of Sanskrit poetry; but his literary talent was not of a mean order. Kubja's *Kāvya* is written in 34 verses which exhibit such metres as Puṣpī-tāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Pracita (a variety of Daṇḍaka). The first 24 verses are however composed in a metre rarely found in classical Sanskrit works. Kielhorn has fully described it in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 26 ff (see *above*, p. 382 note). We give here an analysis of the Talgunda inscription.

The inscription may be conveniently divided into four parts; Part I deals with *māṅgalācarana* and *namaskāra*; Part II with the early history and glories of the family to which the hero of the performance belongs; Part III with the description of the hero and his performance, and Part IV with conclusion and benediction.

Part I. The record begins with the auspicious word *siddham* and a verse in adoration to Sthāṇu, i.e., Śiva. The *namaskāra* is then extended to learned Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Ṛk, Yajus and Sāma Vedas.

Part II. Kākusthavarman, the hero of the performance, is introduced, as well as the family to which he belonged. The story how the family was named Kadamba owing to its early members tending a Kadamba tree with care. The birth of Mayūrasarman, the founder of the Kadamba family, and his exploits. His quarrel with the Pallava king of Kāñcī and victorious campaigns against the Pallavas and Brhad-Bāpas. His installation by the king of Kāñcī on the

throne of the kingdom lying between the Prehāra and the Western Ocean. Description of his *abhiṣeka* by Śaḍānana and the Mothers. His son Kaṅgavarman, grandson Bhagīratha and great-grandson Raghu.

Part III. Description to Raghu's brother and successor Kākusthavarman, the hero of the performance. The prosperity of the Kadamba kingdom during his reign. His daughters married to princes of the Gupta and other royal families. How his feudatories obeyed him. How he constructed a *taḍāka* in the *siddhalaya* of Bhagavān Bhava, i. e., Śiva, which had been occasionally visited by such ancient kings as Sātakarṇi.

Part IV. Adoration to the Bhagavān, i. e., Śiva, residing at Sthānakundūra, i. e., Talgunda in the kingdom of king Sāntivarman who wore three diadems. Benediction—Happiness for the dwelling (i. e., the temple) and prosperity for the subjects.¹

¹ There is another way of looking at the question of the development of Kāvya style. Epigraphic evidence does not prove that the style developed much earlier than the first or second century A. D. As regards classical Sanskrit (*Samśṛīta*, the reformed or refined language), it owes its development and popularisation to schools of grammarians like Pāṇini. It was however not popular in North India before the 2nd cent. and in South India before the 4th cent. A. D., as Prakrit was still the language of the records of kings and the common people. The story of a Śātavāhana king's ignorance of Sanskrit which led the grammarian Sarvaśarma to write the famous *Nāṭya* or *Kalāpa-nyāyaka* shows that even cultured people did not understand Sanskrit. In my paper, *Popularisation of Classical Sanskrit and the Age of Sanskrit Drama*, read at the Indian History Congress, Allahabad (1936), I have tried to prove that the cradle of *samśṛīta* was the north-western part of India and that no work in Classical Sanskrit and developed Kāvya style (especially, dramas which are meant for the common people) can be given a date before the Christian era. It is interesting that Sanskrit was at first favoured by foreign immigrants who came through N. W. India to which Uśīni (inhabitant of Sāstūra in Gandhāra) belonged. It is also interesting that the earliest known classical author, Aśvaghoṣa, is connected with Kaṣīka's court at Puraṣapura (—Peshawar).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF DYNASTIES

[A]

A.D. 100

	<i>Later Śātavāhanas</i>	
	Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi	c. 107-131 A.D.
c. 140 A.D.	Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi	c. 132-159. "
	Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi	c. 160-166. "
	Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	c. 167-173. "
	Gautamīputra Yajña	
	Śātakarṇi	c. 174-202. "
	Vajaya	c. 203-208. "
A.D. 210	Caṇḍa Śātakarṇi	c. 209-218. "
	Pulumāvi	c. 219-225. "
	<i>Ikṣvākus</i>	
Third Cen- tury A.D.	Cāptamūla I (2nd quarter of 3rd century). Vimporisadata (3rd quarter of 3rd century). Ehuvula Cāptamūla II (4th quarter of 3rd century).	
	<i>Early Pallavas of Kāñci</i>	
c. 300 A.D.	Father of Śivaskandavarman (4th quarter of 3rd century).	
	Śivaskandavarman (1st quarter of 4th century). Skandavarman	
c. 350 A.D.	Viṣṇugopa (Conflict with Samudragupta, about the middle of the fourth century).	

	Skandavarman	
	Kumāraviṣṇu (I)	
	Buddhavarman	
	Kumāraviṣṇu (II)	
	Skandavarman	
A.D. 436-58	Sindhavarman	c. 436-460 A.D.
	Skandavarman	
	Nandivarman	
	Sindhavarman	
	Sindhavarman	
	Viṣṇugopa	
	Sindhavarman	
	Sindhaviṣṇu	
c. A.D. 620	Mahendravarman (I)	c. 600-630 A.D.

[B]

	<i>Early Pallavas of the Nellore-Guntur regio</i>
	Virakōrcavarman
	Kumāraviṣṇu
	Skandavarman (I)
	Vṛtavarman
	Skandavarman (II)
	Sindhavarman
	Viṣṇugopavarman
	c. 500 A.D.

[C]

	<i>Bṛhatphalāyanas</i>
c. 300 A.D.	Jayavarman
	<i>Anandas</i>
c. 400 A.D.	Kandara
	Attivarman
	Dāmodaravarman (about the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth).

[D]

<i>Śalāhāyanas</i>		
c. 350 A.D.	Devavarman	c. 320-345 A.D.
	Hastivarman	c. 345-370 "
	Nandivarman (I)	c. 370-395 "
	Caṇḍavarman	c. 395-420 "
	Nandivarman (II)	c. 420-445 "
	Skandavarman	c. 445-470 "
<i>Viṣṇukūṇḍas</i>		
	Vikramahendra (Vikramendra I ?)	c. 500-520 A.D.
c. 550 A.D.	Govindavarman	c. 520-535 "
	Mādhavavarman I	c. 535-585 "
	[Mādhavavarman II	c. 585-615 "] ¹
	Vikramendravarman I (II ?)	c. 615-625 "
	Indravarman	c. 625-655 "
	Vikramendravarman II (III ?)	c. 655-670 "

¹ If it is believed that Mādhavavarman II issued his charter as his grandfather's viceroy, his reign should be omitted and the succeeding reigns closed up.

[E]

<i>Early Kadambas of Mayūraśarman's Line</i>		
c. 340 A.D.	Mayūraśarman	
	Kaṇḍavarman	
400 A. D.	Bhagīratha	
	Raghu	
	Kākusthavarman	c. 405-35 A.D.
472 A.D.	Śāntivarman	
	Mṛgeśavarman	c. 470-90 "
545 A.D.	Ravivarman	c. 490-538 "
	Harivarman	c. 538-50 "

[F]

	<i>Early Kadambas of Kṛṣṇavarman's Line</i>
c. 450 A.D.	Kṛṣṇavarman I
c. 490 A.D.	Viṣṇuvarman I
	Simhavarman
c. 530 A.D.	Kṛṣṇavarman II
	Ajavarman
	Bhogivarman

[G]

	<i>Early Kadambas : Miscellaneous</i>
	Kumāravarman
	Māndhātṛvarman
About the middle of 6th cent. A.D.	Madhuvarman
	Dāmodara

[H]

	<i>Kekayas</i>
c. 450 A.D.	Śivanandavarman

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

P. 5, l. 32. Read—between two Ananda kings.

P. 9, ll. 2-3, 12, etc. Read—Jaggayyspeṭṭa ; Read—Nandigama. *L. 20.* Omit—middle and.

P. 16. Read—Cāṃtamūla I (second quarter of the third century A.D.) ; Virapurisaḍḍa (third quarter of the third century) ; Eḥuvula Cāṃtamūla II (fourth quarter of the third century).

P. 20, l. 15. Omit—(Vāpiśī ?). *Note*—As Vogel suggests, the name may be connected with names like *Bappikā*. *L. 25.* *Note*—It is significant that epithets like *virāpākṣapati-mahāsena-parigahita* are applied to Cāṃtamūla I and not to his son and grandson.

P. 23, ll. 1-2. Read—Rudrasena I, II, III, IV. Rudrasimha I, II, III. *L. 30.* *Note*—*Vanatāsa* as a form of the name of Banavāsī or Vaijayantī is found in inscriptions and literature (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 278 ; *Vikramānukadevacarita*, V, 23 ; XIV, 4).

P. 24, l. 21. Read—dated on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of *varṣā*.

P. 25, ll. 18-19. *Note*—*Mātuka* has been supposed to be the same as the *Nikāyas*, corresponding to the *matṛsthāna* (*māṭṛsthāna*, i.e., matrices) of the Jains (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 107 ff. ; Law, *Mahāvīra*, p. 59).

P. 28, l. 1. Read—dated on the 13th day of the 6th fortnight of winter. *L. 10.* Omit—and other theris. *L. 12.* Omit—that is, who belonged to. *L. 15.* Read—and also pious people of other countries (*cf. nānādesa-samāgatānam*).

P. 29, l. 33. Read—the word in Indian literature. Add—The word *cinapaṭṭa* is mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist works, *Apadāna* and *Milinda-paṭṭha*, and also in the Canonical book called *Buddhavaṃsa* (p. 60), supposed to be a work of the 1st

cent. B.C. See *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 381. It is also mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*.

P. 32, l. 10. *Add*—Dantapura is mentioned in some other Gaṅga records, e.g., a grant of Madhukāmārṇava (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 181). Sometimes the name is written *Dantipura*. L. 16. *Note*—The Nallamalai range seems to have been known by the general name Śrīparvata.

P. 33, l. 25. *Read*—dated on the 5th day of the 6th fortnight of winter (*hemanta*).

P. 34, l. 15. *Read*—dated on the 10th day of the 8th fortnight of *carṣā*. L. 28. *Add*—A fragmentary pillar inscription dated in the 6th year of Virapurisadatta has been discovered at Ramireddipalle not far from the Jaggayyapeṭa site.

P. 35. *Note*—The name Ehuṇḍa may be compared with names like Haṃguṇaṇḍa-Dēvaṇa of a 7th century Darsi record (*A.R.S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

P. 42, l. 1. *Read*—issued on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of *hemanta*.

P. 45, l. 4. *Note*—According to Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā*, *ucyāṃ* means *uktāṃ* which signifies "speech."

P. 55, l. 2. *Read*—their own copper-plate grants L. 3, etc. *Read*—Dāmodaravarman.

P. 56, l. 37. *Add*—Mr. V. S. Ramachandramurti has recently written a note on the inscription in the Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, XI, p. 43 ff.). A tentative reading of the record has been published in *S. Ind. Ins.*, VI, No. 594. The record belongs to Satsabbāmalla whose mother was the Mahādevī Avantīlāntavati (?), dear daughter of Kandararāja. King Kandara is said to have belonged to the *mahāgotra* of the great sage Ānanda. He was the lord of "the Black Beṇṇā" (i.e., Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā or Krishna) in which the Andhra girls used to take their bath, of the Trikūṭa parvata, of the city called Kandarapura, and also of two *janapadas* (*janapoda-dvīpaya*). Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao thinks that this Trikūṭa-parvata is mentioned in the Ipur grant of Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavarman II as Trikūṭa-malaya, and identifies it with

Koṭappakoṇḍa near Kāvūr. One of Kandara's two *janapadas* may have been the district round the Trikūṭa hill and the other the district round Kandarapura (not yet identified). The banner of king Kandara is said to bear the representation of Golāṅgula (a species of monkey). As sometimes the banner and crest of a dynasty are found to be the same, it may not be impossible that the seals attached to the Gorantla and Mattepad plates bear the representation of a monkey. Prince Satsabhāmalla, daughter's son of king Kandara, appears to have been called Prthivi-yuvārāja, and is possibly also credited with victory in some battles at Dhānyakaṭa. The first case-ending in the epithet *prthivi-yuvārāja* and the epithet *kālīśvarasāraciraketu* (which is no doubt different from Kandara's epithet *golāṅgula-vijaya-ketana*) possibly suggest that the epithets in lines 2-4 of the record belong to Satsabhāmalla and not to his maternal grandfather Kandara. The seal of Satsabhāmalla's family bore the representation of Muraripu (Viṣṇu) on Garuḍa and its *ketana* or banner had the figure of a seated vulture (*grdhra*). May Kālīśvarasāravira be the name of the *vigraha* whose figure was the crest of Satsabhāmalla's family?

P. 58, l. 19. Note—May *Vakeśvara* be a mistake for *Tryambakeśvara*? LL. 24-25. Note—According to Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 77), the Kapoteśvara temple (4th century A. D.) at Chazarla in the Kistna district is "a structural *cāitya*-hall originally Buddhist and later connected to Hindu usage." May it have been built by Dāmodaravarman, the only known Buddhist king of the locality, who ruled about the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century?

P. 62, l. 29. Read—supplanted by the Pallavas.

P. 78, l. 25. Note—Some scholars think that the grant contains a date in year 138 which should be referred to the Gupta era (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 2036), while others think that it is dated in the king's 7th regnal year. The reading and suggestion of the former are very doubtful.

P. 80, l. 10. Note—This is the Kiṇḍeppa grant published by Mr. M. Narasimham in *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 160. The Siripuram grant of the same king (issued from

Devapura, possibly the chief town of Davarāṣṭra! was also published by the same scholar in *Bhārati* (Telugu), September, 1931. The suggestion that the Siripuram grant is dated in year 8 of the Śaka era cannot be accepted. L. 17. Add—The Tandivada plates (*Journ. Or. Res.*, IX, p. 188 ff.) issued from Piṣṭapura in the 46th year of Pṛthivī-mahārāja, son of Vikramendra and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, have been ascribed to the first half of the 7th century. The kings mentioned in this record appear to have ruled after the kings of the other records already discussed. Pṛthivī-mahārāja may have been the king of Piṣṭapura overthrown by Pulakeśin II.

P. 81, l. 2. Read—beginning of the 6th century. L. 14. Read—takes to have been.

P. 89, l. 39. Add—Note that a record of Harijara, an Assam king of the 9th cent., is dated in Gupta 510 (*Ind. Cult.* V, 114).

P. 112, l. 40. Add—Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the struggle between Indravarman and the Gaṅga king Indra should be placed before the Calukya conquest of Piṣṭapura (*Outline of the History of Kāliṅga* [offprint], p. 29). I do not think it absolutely necessary; but the suggestion may be reconciled with our chronology if we think that Mādhavavarman II did not rule (see *above*, p. 133 ff.) and give Vikramendravarman I a shorter reign. In that case, Indravarman may be placed in c. 487-517. His Gaṅga contemporary would then be an earlier Indravarman who reigned in Gaṅga years 87 and 91.

Add.—A word about Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Cālukyas, which we have accepted in this work. Fleet thinks that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's reign began, as his brother's viceroy, in 615 (*Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 12). But his date 888 as the first year of Cālukya-Bhīma I has now been proved wrong by the Atili grant (C. P. No. 14 of 1917-18) which gives the king's coronation date on Monday, April 17, 892. According to the Chendalur grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 236 f.) there was a lunar eclipse in Vaiśākha-pūrṇimā in Maṅgiyuvārāja's 2nd year which, according to Fleet, falls in 672-73. Actually however there was no lunar eclipse in that tithi between the years 665 and 682. It is therefore not impossible that the beginning of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign was

a few years later than 615. Mr. M. S. Sarma thinks that he began to rule "Veṅḡī" in 633 (*Journ. Or. Res.*, IX, p. 17 ff.), while Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao thinks it to be 624 (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, IX, iv, p. 1 ff.). Historical arguments in support of both the theories are however weak. Both the scholars rely on the doubtful evidence of the Kopparam grant (*above*, pp. 117-18). Krishna Rao follows Lakshmana Rao and thinks that Pulakeśin II conquered "Veṅḡī" in 611; Sarma follows Hultzsch and takes 632 as the date of the conquest. In my opinion the former theory is *improbable* and the latter is just *possible*. But Pulakeśin had to fight with two generations of Pallava kings and no doubt led several expeditions to the east coast country. There is no guarantee that the date of the conquest coincided with that of the grant. If however Fleet's epoch is wrong, one of these dates should be examined astronomically, because according to the Chipurupalle grant there was a lunar eclipse in Śrāvana-pūrṇimā in Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana's 18th year, and after 632 (date of the grant according to Fleet) the nearest lunar eclipse on that *tithi* were in 641 and 650. In my opinion, the latter date is too late, as it would make a very long difference between the dates of the Polamuru grants of Mādhavavarman I and of Jayasiṃha I. Moreover, the astronomical details in the Chendalur grant of Maṅgiyavarāja supports Krishna Rao's theory, not Sarma's. The Musinikonda grant, we should notice, is supposed to support Sarma. It gives the chronogram date read as *śāḍḍita* (*ra* = 4, *da* = 8, *ta* = 6), i.e., Saka 684 = 763 A.D. as following in Viṣṇuvardhana(III)'s reign (*A. R. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1917, p. 116; for the chronogram system, Barnell, *S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 76). Viṣṇuvardhana III ruled in 709-46 (Fleet), or 719-55 (Krishna Rao) or 727-63 (Sarma). But since *ta*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, and *da* may be confused in early mediaeval Telugu script, Fleet and Krishna Rao may read *śāḍḍita* and *śāḍḍhita* respectively to suit their theories, *ḍa* being = 3 and *ḍha* = 4. Another difficulty is with the Terla grant (No. 80 of 1929-30) giving the date in the Saka year Bahudhānya and Kārtika-śukla-pañcamī on Sunday (A.D. 739 or 859) as falling in the 5th year of a Viṣṇuvardhana (III or IV), which does not suit any of

the three theories. Year 5 may be a wrong reading. The problem cannot be solved in the present state of our knowledge; but of the three dates 615, 624 and 633, the possibility of 624 as the first year of Kubja-Viṣṇuvarḍhan's rule at Piṣṭapura seems to be just a little more than the other two.

P. 114, l. 35. *Add*—The Chicacole grant of Indravarmān (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1474) dated in year 128 of the Gaṅga era refers to a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa-pūrṇamāsī. According to Dr. Majumdar's theory, this year falls in 678-85 A.D. But there was no lunar eclipse in Mārgaśīrṣa-pūrṇamāsī in the period between 673 and 689 A.D.

P. 116, l. 30. *Read*—end of the 7th or somewhere.

P. 117, l. 4. *Note*—Not Veṅḡi, but Bezvāḍa, however, seems to have been the capital at the time.

P. 124, l. 31. *Add*—In this connection, it is also interesting to note that in Telugu works like *Sēmadēvarājyaṃ* (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, III, p. 113) the Kūkatīyas are represented as descendants of a certain Mādhavavarman of the lunar race.

P. 126, l. 30. *Read*—Veṅḡi Ten Hundred. *Add*—See *Journ. Or. Res.*, XI, p. 221 ff. The district is sometimes referred to Veṅḡi-sahasra or Veṅḡipura-viṣaya-grāma-sahasra. *Grāma*=that which is the subject of an assessment (*Abhidhāna rājendra*).

P. 129, l. 5. *Note*—As generally believed, this Mādhava may have been Dharmarāja's younger brother. *Ll.* 6-8. *Note*—The suggestion is possible if Trivara had a long reign and if Sailodbhava Dharmarāja may be placed about the middle of the seventh century. Scholars like B. D. Banerji and D. R. Bhandarkar are inclined to identify Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman II (son of Ayaśobhīta, son of Sainyabhīta-Mādhavavarman I) of the Ganjam (Gupta year 300=A.D. 330) and Khurda grants with Sainyabhīta II-Mādhavavarman-Śrīnivāsa (son of Ayaśobhīta, born in the family of Sainyabhīta I) of the Buguda and Parikod grants. Some scholars however point out that the latter grants should be placed centuries later on (doubtful) grounds of palaeography and on the strength of the passage *tasya-ṣpi vaṃśe* with reference to the relation between Sainyabhīta I and his successor

Ayaśobhita (R. C. Majumdar, *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 1 ff.). But the striking resemblance in the genealogy furnished by both sets of the records cannot be explained away. Sailodbhava Ayaśobhita may have been an adopted son of Sainyabhita I. We cannot therefore be definite on this point until further evidence is forthcoming. If Sainyabhita-Mādhavavarman II-Srinivāsa reigned in 620 A.D., his grandson may be placed in the middle of the seventh century. Dr. Bhandarkar's contention that the Kondedda and Puri grants of Dharmarāja are dated in Gupta year 312=632 A.D. (*List*, Nos. 2040 and 2041) is however clearly wrong; because the Parikuḍ grant of his father Ayaśobhita-Mādhyamarāja (*ibid*, No. 1675) shows that the intervening reign covered more than 25 years. *L. 12 ff. Note.*—In *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 19 ff., Prof. V. V. Mirashi accepts my Viṣṇukūṇḍin chronology, and believes that Tivara of Kośala reigned in 530-50 A.D. *L. 35. Add.*—*Cf.* the passage referring to the *kaumāra-keli* of Lakṣmanasena with the females of Kaliṅga in the Madhainagar grant (*Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 111); also "who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the Gauḍa women," etc., applied to Yuvarāja Keyūravarṣa in the Bilhari inscription (Ray, *Dynastic History*, II, p. 760).

P. 134, l. 3. Note.—The god on the hill at Koṭappakōṇḍa (near Kāvūr in the Narasaraopet taluka of the Guntur district) is called Trikoṭṭīśvara in inscriptions. Mr. Krishna Rao suggests that Trikoṭṭīśvara=Trikoṭṭīśvara, lord of the Trikoṭṭa hill, and that Trikoṭṭa-malaya=Trikoṭṭa hill, *malai* (the Dravidian original of *malaya*) meaning "a hill." See *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, XI, p. 45. The suggestion does not appear improbable. The acceptance of this theory would necessitate the omission of the reign of Mādhavavarman II from the table at p. 112 above.

P. 140, l. 4 ff.—I now believe that Patañjali is much later than the Śaṅga king, and *iha puṣyamitraṃ yājñamah*, etc., of the *Mahābhāṣya* are merely "stock instances."

P. 176, l. 15.—The evidence of the Penukonda grant is supported by that of the Pura grant (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1930, p. 259).

P. 180, l. 32. *Read*—Paramēśvaravarman I c. 670-90, according to Dubreuil.

P. 185, l. 1. *Read*—yuddheṣu.

P. 192, l. 21. *Note*.—According to Manu (XI, 35), the five great sins are *brahma-hatyā suri-pāṇaṃ steyaṃ guru-aṅganā-gamaḥ, mahānti pātakāny-ahuh saṃsargaś = c=āpi taiḥ soha*. Kullūka says that *steya=brāhmaṇa-sucarna-haraṇa, guru=pitā*, and *saṃsarga* is for one year only. The *Mahabhā.* (XIII, 130, 38) also gives a list of five great sins in the *śloka*, *brahmahā c=aica goghnaś=ca parādāra rataś=ca yath, āśradhdadhānaś=ca naraḥ striyaṃ yaś=c=opāśrati*.

P. 193, l. 10. *Add*—The next *parihāra* means exemption from taxes, forced labour, and *koṃjāla* the meaning of which is not known. *A-paramparā-balivadha-qahana* has already been explained.

P. 200, l. 7. *Read*—were to be.

P. 207, l. 34. *Read*—Arabic.

P. 212, l. 9. *Add*—Another copper-plate grant of Simhavarman dated in the month of Śrāvapa of his tenth year has been discovered in Nellore Dist. (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1934-35, p. 30). Simhavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa, grandson of Skandavarman and great-grandson of Viravarman, granted with the object of securing long life, strength of arm and victory a village called Vilavatti in Muṇḍarāṣṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Viṣṇuśarma who belonged to the Gautama gotra and Chandoga śākhā. The seal bears a couchant bull facing the proper left with another figure (said to look like an anchor or boat) above it.

P. 216, l. 37. *Add*—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has recently suggested (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, X, p. 89 ff.) that Karpāṭa = Kanna viṣaya or Kaṇṇāḍu, the original home of the Śātavāhanas at the foot of the Śrīśaila. According to him, Kanna = Karṇa, an abbreviated form of Śātakarṇa, i.e., Śātakarṇi. He thinks that the kingdom of the Śātakarṇis became known as Karnaṭa from the name of their original home and became afterwards restricted to the western part of their kingdom where their rule lingered for a longer period than elsewhere. The suggestion

may not be unreasonable, and the name Karṇāṭa may have actually been derived from that of the Kanna viṣaya. But as there is no early evidence to support the theory, it is impossible to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. The equation Kanna=Śātakarṇi and the suggestion that the original home of the Śātavāhanas was at the foot of the Śrīśaila cannot be conclusive until further evidence is forthcoming.

P. 227, l. 26. Read—Nanda kings.

P. 229, l. 28. Read—mentioned in. L. 29. Read—pillar.

P. 230, ll. 8, 23. Read—fig tree.

P. 254, l. 5. Add—Verse 13 of the Davangere grant (*Mys Arch. Surv.*, 1933, p. 116) is supposed to suggest that Kuṇḍagiri or Miligunḍagiri was Raghu's capital. But the verse seems to mean that a hill-fort called Milikunḍa (near Asandī?) repulsed an attack of Raghu, but was conquered by Ravi.

P. 255, l. 24. Read—Gupta kings.

P. 262, l. 10. Read—due to. L. 32. Read—and to provide.

P. 267, l. 6. Read—Halsi grant.

P. 269, l. 13. Read—A paṣi or piece.

P. 273, l. 16. Add—A record of Ravivarman dated on a certain bright fortnight day of Madhu (Caitra) in the king's 34th year has been discovered by a lawyer of Davangere (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, 1933, p. 109 ff). It begins with *siddhaṃ*, and a verse (Praharsin) metre) in adoration to *Sarvajña-Sarvalokanātha* which possibly means Śiva. The record is interesting as the verses describing the king are composed in a developed Kāvya style. It records a grant of lands for (the continuation of) worship at a *Siddhāyatana* or Śaiva temple possibly at Asandī (identified with a village of the same name in Kadur taluka near Ajjampur), and for the prosperity of the *saṅgha* (ascetics belonging to the temple?), at the instigation of Haridatta who may be the *śreṣṭhin* of that name mentioned in the Bannahalli grant. The lands granted were at Asandī, and at Kōrmaṅgā near the boundary-stone (*upaśaka*) of a bridge. One *nirartana* (by royal measure) of granted land was in a field near the bridge to the south of Asandī. The king granted, before his *Sāmantas*, also one *nirartana* at Samapa (sic. *saṃapa* =

extremity?) of the bridge and three *nicartanas* (by royal measure) at Vēṭkants. The localities mentioned may have been in the vicinity of Asandī. The identification of Kōramaṅgā with Koramaṅgala 8 miles from Hassan and 40 miles away is doubtful.

P. 277, l. 21. *Read*—verses.

P. 280, l. 7. *Omit*—during.

P. 285, l. 30. *Read*—Sātavāhana contemporary.

P. 287, l. 14. *Read*—north-eastern.

P. 301, l. 15. *Read*—refer. L. 25. *Read*—Durvinita-Koṭigaṇi-vṛddha.

P. 316, l. 6. *Read*—Davangere.

P. 325, l. 16. *Read*—4th-5th centuries.

P. 330, ll. 37-39. *Read*—yo[na]ka. *Note*—Karoḍi (Sanskrit: *karoḍi*) means "a cup."

P. 353, l. 13. *Read*—received in 1714 A.D.

P. 358, l. 30. *Read*—drowned in.

P. 366, l. 21. *Read*—wherein. L. 26. *Read*—by fire.

P. 367, l. 33. *Read*—wherein.

P. 382, l. 30. *Read*—to be the *Gitika* variety of the *Miśragāṇa* metre. L. 31. *Read*—115.

P. 391, *Read*—c. 400 A.D.—Dātōdavarman.

P. 392. *Read*—c. 350 A.D.—Hastivarman. c. 340 A.D.—Mayūśarman. 400 A.D.—Raghu. 472 A.D.—Mṛgeśavarman. 545 A.D.—Harivarman.

P. 398, l. 30. *Read*—proved wrong.

P. 399, l. 19. *Read*—lunar eclipses. L. 27. *Read*—as falling.

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